

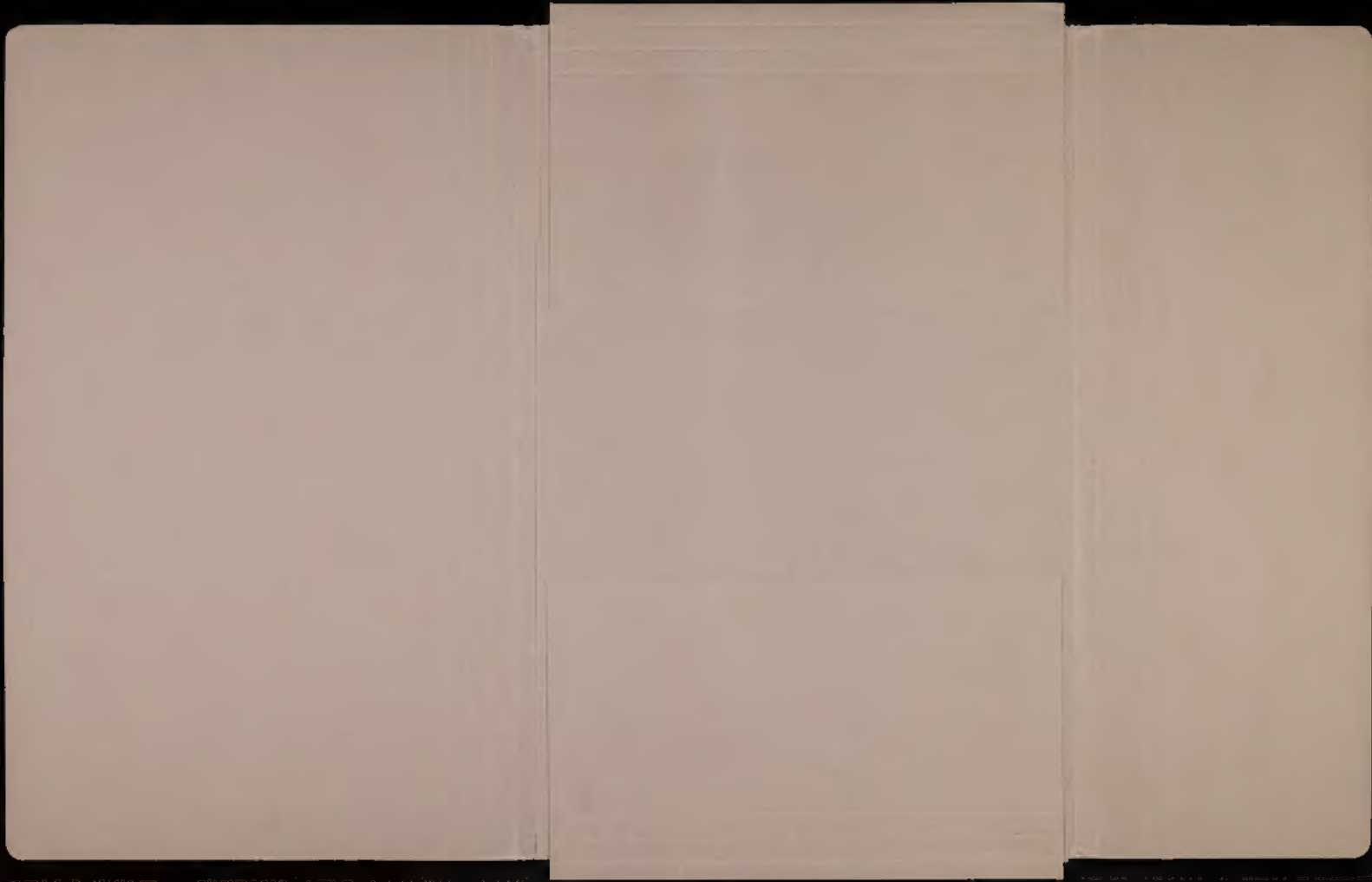


F.O.
371

**CLOSED
UNTIL**

1992

159144



1961

V

North and East African Department

SUDAN

VS 1821/21

FROM

Shamir,
Khartoum, to
NEAD.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 1591.

Dated May, 22.

Received May, 26.

SUBJECT:

Sudan refugees. -

Encloses a copy of Sudan M.E.A. Note asking H.M.G. to help in securing the return of the refugees from Uganda.

1820 Gives the details of the Sudanese guarantee of non-victimization.

References

VS 1821/19.

MINUTES

See Submission

1821/6

(Printing Instructions)

159144

(Outward Action)

(Action completed)

W. J. J. J.

(Main Indexed)

20/11/62

CONFIDENTIAL



BRITISH EMBASSY,
KHARTOUM.

May 22, 1961.

Dear Department,

With reference to our telegram No. 390 of May
21 about Sudanese refugees in Uganda we enclose
the text of the Sudanese Note.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY

KP.

RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES

26 MAY 1961

VS1821/21

North & East African Department,
Foreign Office,
LONDON, S.W.1.

CONFIDENTIAL

COPY

MFA/SCR/36.H.3.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Sudan presents its compliments to Her Britannic Majesty's Embassy in Khartoum, and has the honour to refer to the case of the Sudanese Nationals who have taken refuge in Kenya and Uganda recently. Namely :

1. Fr. Saturnino Lomure
2. Mr. Nathaniel Oyet
3. Mr. Joseph Odumu
4. Mr. Pankrasio Oceang
5. Mr. Ferdinand Adyang
6. Mr. Alex Mable
7. Mr. William Deng

who were the subject of our notes to you Nos. MFA/35-D-9 of 25.1.61, and MFA/SCR"41.F of 28.2.61 and MFA/SCR/35.D.9 of 7.5.61.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs wishes to state that the return of those nationals to their home country is highly desirable because their sudden disappearance has caused a great deal of anxiety to their relatives and dependants who have been continually pressing for their return.

To clear up any misunderstanding on their part it may be prudent for the Government of the Republic of the Sudan to formally express that :-

- 1) They will not be put up for trial or subjected to any bodily injury as a result of their having left the country.
- 2) Their return will not be subject of publicity in the Sudan press.

3) The Government of the Republic of the Sudan will not feel hurt by criticism that may appear in the foreign press relating to its internal policy in connection with the reasons that impelled those nationals to take such steps as they have done.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs would be grateful if Her Britannic Majesty's Embassy would use its good offices and intervene with Uganda Government to achieve their immediate return to the Sudan.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Sudan avails itself of this opportunity to renew to Her Britannic Majesty's Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Khartoum, 20th. May, 1961.

TO : HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S EMBASSY,

KHARTOUM.

1961

V

North and East African Department

SUDAN

V S 1821/22

FROM Lord Perth,
Colonial Office to
Mr E. Heath.

No.

Dated May 23

Received June 8

SUBJECT:

Sudanese Refugees in Uganda

Encloses minute by Lord Perth, dictated after a meeting
with Bishop Billington; concern over the Sudan Govt's
request for the return of the refugees.

1821

References

123/24

MINUTES

W.S. 9/6

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action
completed)

(Main Indexed)

J 12/11/62

W.S. 12/11/62 ✓



RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES
COLONIAL OFFICE
GREAT SMITH STREET
LONDON S.W.1

8 JUN 1961

NSI 821/22

23rd May, 1961.

Dear Ted

I look forward to our meeting when we can talk about Jean Monnet and Rene Boel.

There is another matter which is causing me deep concern. I cannot do better than enclose a copy of a minute I dictated after meeting Bishop Billington and the Head of the Mill Hill Fathers at the end of last week. What particularly worries me is hearing that the Sudan Government have now made a formal request for the return of these refugees. I will not in this letter go into great detail, but, for example, we might face an exceedingly dangerous situation in Uganda if they were returned (Kiwanuka, the recently chosen leader of Government, is a Catholic and we have heard rumours that he would resign in the event). I further suspect that it is probably true that if they were returned we would never hear any more of them, and that would surely be a tragic outcome contrary to all our policy.

This is a somewhat snap letter and I do not as yet know all the background, but you will understand why I am writing urgently, namely the Sudan request for their return.

Yours ever

David

The Rt. Hon. Edward Heath, M.B.E.

Na E Africa Dept

for urgent obs. Lord
Pettie is coming this
evening at 6 pm. MW 24/5

Mr. Hanson

Bishop Billington, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kampala, called with the Head of the Mill Hill Fathers. The main purpose of their visit was in regard to a small group of Catholics who had escaped from the Sudan and it was believed were at present taking refuge in Uganda. There was one Priest in the group, Father Sarturnino Lahore, an ex-M.P. as well as the others.

They said that they were anxious about their fate and about their being returned by the Uganda authorities to the Sudan. They knew and appreciated the very real service that the Sudan was performing in turning back people from East Africa who were using the Sudan as the route for reaching Iron Curtain countries, and they understood well that the Sudan expected reciprocal treatment in the case of refugees from the Sudan. All the same they hoped in this particular case it might be possible to avoid repatriation.

I said I could not really make any comment on this affair - the whole situation in that area was very delicate. At the same time I undertook to go further into the matter. I should perhaps add that apparently the Holy See is very anxious about the fate of this Catholic group. They feel certain that if they are returned that will be the end of them. Generally they said that there was a very strong anti-Christian move throughout the Sudan and the teaching or practising of Catholicism was banned.

I took the opportunity of asking the Bishop about Uganda and he said there was one good development recently in that the Kabaka had himself ordered that those who had registered for voting, and therefore been expelled from the Lukiko, were to be re-admitted. He also said that the Protestant and Catholic feeling in Uganda was at about its worst in the last sixty years.

The Head of the Mill Hill had recently come from North Borneo and Sarawak and he had a very happy picture to paint of things there.

(Sgd) PERTH

18th May, 1961.

1967

V

North and East African Department

SUDAN

V S1821/23

FROM F.O. Minute

SUBJECT:

Sudanese Refugees in Uganda

History of the case.

No.

Dated Undated

Received June 8

1821

References

122
124.

see MINUTES within

12/8 9/6

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action completed)

12/11/62

(Main Indexed)

12/11/62

Index

Sudanese refugees in Uganda

The Dept. have been asked to brief the Ld Privy Seal urgently on the attached letter from Ld Perth, for a meeting at 6 pm. I attach the basis of a submission which we were at this moment engaged in preparing.

I suggest that the LPS shd explore the ground with Ld Perth at this stage and reserve judgment. The pros and cons are delicately

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

delicately balanced:-

Pros (for repatriating the men)

- ① We avoid a row with the Sudan
- ② If we do it quickly and against adequate promises of non-victimisation we avoid a long wrangle without (though there will be criticism for a time).
 Having too bad a conscience about it
- ③ We preserve the present good frontier relations between Uganda & the Sudan

Cons

- ① We deny the normal rights of political asylum
- ② We incur Parliamentary criticism and attacks

attacks from special interests (e.g. the Roman Catholics).

I have talked to the Home Office briefly about political asylum. They say that they do not send people back from the ~~U.K.~~ if they have any reason to fear that they will suffer on return. There are no rules: the Ho. consult us normally and use their judgment and they are fairly liberal.

My preliminary

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

preliminary view is
that it is going to
be very difficult to
send these men
back.

John Bate
May 26

Low Patti discussed this
with me last night. He is
anxious that the men
should not be sent back, but
appreciates the difficulty of the
situation. He offers to
obtain from the Army Sec, through
Litchfield, undertakings
that if the men are allowed
to remain in Algeria they
will take no part whatever
in activities of a political
kind, but is opposed for a
superstitious movement in the Sudan.
Lt Patti is convinced of the
Belgians' deep interest in this
matter. I have [LH 20] 10

NS1321/23

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1. The first step in the process of the investigation is the identification of the problem. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the study. The next step is the formulation of the research objectives. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the study. The third step is the design of the study. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the study. The fourth step is the collection of data. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the study. The fifth step is the analysis of the data. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the study. The sixth step is the interpretation of the results. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the study. The seventh step is the presentation of the results. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the study. The eighth step is the conclusion. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the study.

[illegible]

Wm. Deng

CONFIDENTIAL

5. Because of our relations with the Sudan, it is important that we should not appear to encourage the refugees. If the Sudan thought that we were taking sides in an internal dispute, not only would our general relations with her suffer, but we should also be in a weak position to speak up on behalf of the missionaries and the Christians in case of injury; (H.E. Embassy have made representations on this, and there has been some evidence that President Aboud has been influenced by this). In addition, the Sudan's government and the British authorities very helpful in that they have urged students to leave the country illicitly in order to get to Communist countries. The Sudan is not a fully fledged member of the U.N.

6. We have pointed out to the Sudanese the undesirable publicity that might result from a mass demonstration at the refugee camp and that the Sudan should be returned.

7. The Sudan cannot be "extrajurisdictional", since we have no extradition treaty with the Sudan; and if any case they have committed no criminal offence. But the Government of Sudan, with a view to the refugees, has the power to allow them to return to the Sudan provided he is satisfied that they will not be charged with any criminal offence of a political character or subject to political persecution. The Sudan Government say they are willing to give guarantees to this effect.

8. The question whether the refugees should be repatriated is a matter of internal policy. If they are repatriated, they will be a potential source of serious disturbance to U.K. and Sudan relations with the Sudan. They will have to be constantly watched in case they attempt to organize any political or subversive movement, which is not necessary to their purpose. Their presence here will attract more refugees so that the problem may get worse as it gets older. The provision of guarantees against victimization should give us some protection against

100

[illegible]

V

North and East African Department

SUDAN

V S 1821/24

FROM F.O. Submission--
Mr J.G.S. Beith.

SUBJECT:

Sudanese Refugees in Uganda

CONFIDENTIAL.

Problem of the return of the refugees; attaches a draft letter to Lord Perth to be signed by the Lord Privy Seal.

No.

Dated May 29

Received June 8

References

7.1- 22

MINUTES

Wes 9/6

Pro. like reply
or on 19/6 Wes 20/6
Pro. 26/6

(Printing Instructions)

C.O. are trying to arrange a
meeting with the Governor & Ugandans

(Outward Action)

Left Lord Perth, C.O.
from M Beith
6/6

Wes

20/6

A) Lord Perth, C.O. to the Lord Privy Seal
EAF 430/671/02 - June 9.

(Action completed)

Wes 20/6/62

(Main Indexed)

Wes 20/6/62

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AMERICAN
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US 1821/24

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

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John Smith
111

W.B. Stevens

COPY
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Mr. ...

I agree; but I am not entirely happy 31/V
with the wording of the last two paras of the draft. As I understand it
Low Price was merely suggesting that the retention undertakings should be
provided for our own information, but the fact that the Holy See
intends to give us their own undertaking to which we could look
them. As these paras pt. be rewarded L.H. %

I hope the proposed redraft will meet the Lord Privy Seal's point.

It accepts the idea of encouraging the Vatican to use their influence, but does not commit to accepting or endorsing any guarantees

Mr Wilford

John Bate

Tue 2

Thank you. Agreed
H. 4/6

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

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The diagram illustrates the experimental design. It shows a sequence of events: a stimulus (represented by a word or picture), a response (indicated by an arrow), a feedback phase (a bar graph showing performance), and a reward (a coin). The sequence is repeated for multiple trials.

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[wp.]

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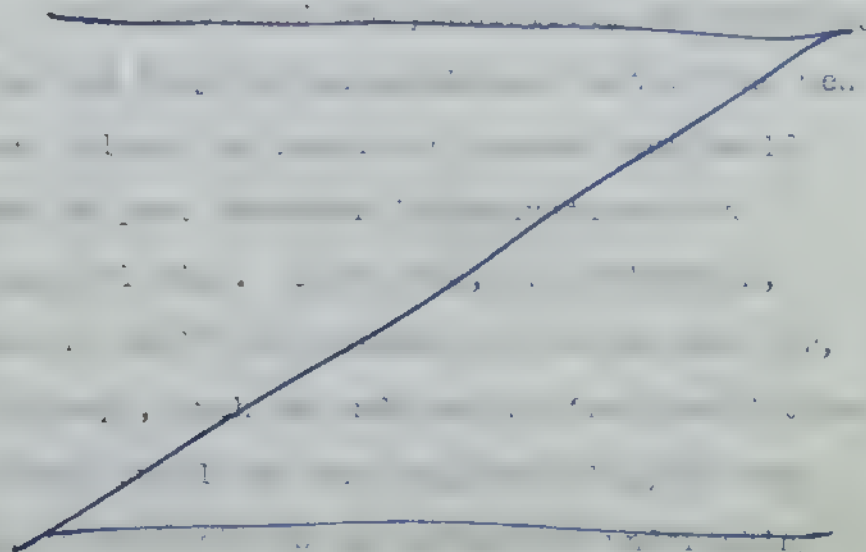
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BY THE COURT

I have read the petition of the plaintiff and the answer of the defendant. The plaintiff claims that the defendant has wrongfully taken possession of certain property. The defendant denies this and claims that the property is his own. The court finds that the plaintiff has established a prima facie case. The burden is now on the defendant to prove his case. The defendant has failed to do so. Therefore, the court grants the plaintiff's petition and awards him the property. The costs of the suit are awarded to the plaintiff. The judgment is entered accordingly.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

See
attached
A



Insert (A)

over the execution of which one should not have
effective control

and which would be
regarded by the Indonesian
authorities as a

way of dragging into the level
of direct guarantee which would
be constitutional
possible for us to give

just
as by their loyalty to the Church

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

MS/6

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

6/5.4/10
A

If, after we have talked to the Sudan Government about the various possibilities, we should decide to let the men remain in Uganda I think there would be great advantage in pursuing your idea of getting the Holy See to bring their influence to bear on them. This would be a fairly delicate matter because we should want to avoid any risk that we and the Holy See would be embarrassed in our relations if the men should break their undertakings and for that, or any other reason, have subsequently to be moved. For this reason I should prefer to avoid anything in the nature of a formal understanding with the Holy See. If it is decided to let the men remain in Uganda, perhaps it would meet the case if you were to let the Holy See know informally that this was on the condition that the refugees gave us strict undertakings not to take part in any activities which might embarrass Uganda and ourselves in our relations with the Sudan Government. This could no doubt be said in such a way that the Holy See would follow it up with the refugees, without feeling it necessary to tell us that they had done so.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE,

C.S.1.

June 5, 1961

Since we had our talk on May 25 I have been giving further thought to the problem of the seven Sudanese who have moved into Uganda.

As you know, the Sudan Government have now confirmed their wish that the men should be returned and have offered to give assurances that there will be no victimisation. I think the Sudan Government are aware that it lies within the Government's powers to return the men, and they may well have the impression from their own contacts with the authorities in Uganda that these powers might be exercised provided there were guarantees about treatment. So, although we have certainly given nothing in the way of commitment on this and have done our best to persuade the Sudanese of the disadvantages of a forced return, they will certainly be very disappointed if we now say that we will not send the men back to them.

The practical consequences of this might include a refusal to cooperate in returning Uganda students and leave Uganda illicitly and intend to make their way to the Communist countries; and the Sudanese might also be much less willing to cooperate generally on frontier matters

The Right Honourable
The Earl of Perth

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

letters, including the denunciation of the frontier which the Uganda Government desire. We must recognize that the Ugandans would interpret a refusal as tantamount to saying that we think these men have grounds for seeking political asylum. We would be seen as believing the Ugandans to be following a non-solve policy, and doubting the value of any assurances about not victimising the men on their return.

I think it is important that the Uganda Government should understand that there are the possible consequences of a decision not to return the men to the Sudan. If they feel that in the circumstances the men should be returned I think we should agree, although we must expect some criticism in the House and perhaps elsewhere. But if we do feel that humanitarian considerations and their own internal problems argue in favour of not returning the men, I accept that we should be prepared to face them up to the risk that this will harm our own relations with the Sudan.

If it is decided that the men should not be returned I think we must be at pains to demonstrate to the Sudan Government that our action is based on principle and is not directed in any way against the Sudan. First, I should like to offer the facilities to send someone down to talk to the men and see whether they could be persuaded to return of their own free will. If that should fail I suggest that, bearing in mind the importance of United Kingdom and Ugandan relations with the Sudan, we must be prepared to assure the Sudan Government of the following. If the men are allowed to remain they will be kept well away from the frontier and under the strictest surveillance, so that we could guarantee that they were not engaged in any political activity. Alternatively, we should give them, say three

/s/ [signature]

CONFIDENTIAL

months, in which to make an effort to go somewhere else, it being understood that they cannot be received in any other of our West African territories. We should have to make it clear that, when we spoke of preventing political activities, this included attempts to encourage Christian opinion in the Sudan (or in Uganda for that matter) to oppose the Sudan Government's policies regarding the missionary schools and the propagation of the Christian faith. I am sure we must avoid getting into a position in which we appear to be facilitating the efforts of the Southern Sudanese Christians to oppose the official policy of the Sudan. If, on the other hand, the Sudan Government should be attracted by the idea that the men should be obliged to move on to some distant place, where there would be no opportunities of direct contact across the frontier, the Sudanese authorities would have to lift the invalidation which they have placed on the men's passports. This was done after discussion between the Sudanese and the Ugandan authorities in order to prevent the men moving on. The Sudanese were anxious lest they might go to other parts of Africa, for example the Congo, and make trouble there.

If, after we have talked to the Sudan Government about the various possibilities, we should decide to let the men remain in Uganda, I think there would be great advantage in pursuing your idea of getting the Holy See to bring their influence to bear on them. This would be a fairly delicate matter because we should want to avoid any risk that we and the Holy See would be embarrassed in our relations if the men should break their undertakings and for that, or any other reason, have subsequently to be moved. For this reason I should prefer to avoid anything in the nature of a formal understanding with the Holy See.

/If it is

CONFIDENTIAL

- 4 -

If it is decided to let the men remain in the area, perhaps it would not be wise if you were to let the ally know informally that this was on the condition that the refugees gave us strict assurances not to take part in any activities which might embarrass Uganda and ourselves in our relations with the Ugandan Government. This could no doubt be said in such a way that the ally would feel obliged to point out to the refugees, without feeling it necessary to tell us that they had done so.

You will no doubt wish to consult the ally, and we should like to ask the Embassy in Dar es Salaam for their views. But before this is done it might be useful if we could exchange further views between ourselves on the suggestions made in this letter.

Lansard 10/10/72

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to N.E. Africa Dept



COLONIAL OFFICE
GREAT SMITH STREET
LONDON S.W.1

16 JUN 1961

9th June, 1961.

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Ted

US 1824/24(7)

N.E. Africa Dept.

15/6 Kershifal

Thank you for your letter of the 6th June about the Sudanese refugees in Uganda. I am most grateful to you for setting out so clearly the issues at stake and your views on how the situation might be handled.

After speaking with your office a copy of your letter has been sent to the Governor of Uganda and he has been asked to brief himself for discussions when he comes to the United Kingdom next week. Meanwhile I shall not attempt to comment on the points you have raised but would prefer, if you agree, to get in touch with you again after I have had the opportunity to discuss the position fully with Crawford.

Yours ever

The Rt. Hon. Edward Heath, M.B.E., M.P.

V

North and East African Department

V

VS 1821/25.

1961

SUDAN

FROM Mr Kennedy,
Khartoum, to
Mr Smith

No. 159

Dated June, 13

Received June, 16.

SUBJECT:

Sudan Refugees. -

The Embassy are against the view that
the refugees should be allowed to
remain in Uganda.

References

120, 19

MINUTES

[Signature]
21/6

Mr Smith

Smith 22/6
Smith

(Printing Instructions)

When are you going to
see the Governor

(Outward Action)

The Governor is still busy with the E.A.A.C.
tasks but he will be available again
next week. The Colonial Office will
propose assisted rates as soon as possible.

(Action
completed)

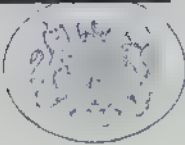
[Signature]
23/6/61

(Main Indexed)

[Signature]
9/11/62

[Signature]
22/6

CONFIDENTIAL



Mr. Beith has not seen
E-10
British Embassy,
KHARTOUM

(1591)

June 13, 1961

RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES
16 JUN 1961

My dear John,

Thank you for the advance warning in your letter VS 1821/20 of June 5 that Ministers are discussing the question of the return of the Sudanese refugees in Uganda and that they are likely to decide against their return.

2. This, as you know, is against our views here (and against yours, too, to judge from your earlier letter VS 1821/9 of May 1), but I have already deployed all my arguments fully so will not bore you by repeating them.

3. Meanwhile, the Sudan Government have not sought to press us for a reply to their Note of May 20.

Yours ever,

Frank Brenchley

(T.F. Brenchley)

J.G.S. Beith, Esq., C.M.G.,
North and East African Department,
FOREIGN OFFICE.

CONFIDENTIAL

1001

V

North and East African Department

SUDAN

VS 1221/26

FROM

F.O. Minniti,
Mr. Smith,

CONFIDENTIAL

No.

Dated

Received

June, 13.

June, 10.

SUBJECT:

Sudan Refugees -

It would be useful if the Foreign
Office could join in talks between the
Colonial Office and the Governor of Uganda.

References

12+.

MINUTES

W.S. 22/6

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

Off the dist. and Perth
CO., from the Lord
Pring Seal. 13/6

(Action
completed)

(Main Indexed)

22/6/61

22/6/61

16 JUN 1961

CONFIDENTIAL

VS1821/26

SUDANESE REFUGEES IN UGANDA

VS1821/24 In the attached letter Lord Perth says that he will get in touch with the Lord Privy Seal again when he has had the opportunity to discuss this question with the Governor of Uganda, who will be in London this week. It seems to me that it would be very useful if we could join the Colonial Office in a talk with the Governor, perhaps at official level. I submit a draft letter to Lord Perth.

John Beith

(J. G. S. Beith)
June 13, 1961.

I very much agree. The C.O. are still so much inclined to regard their intercourse with their Governors about questions with an international aspect as a purely domestic affair. (cf. N. Rajon, Kenya)

Lord Privy Seal

CONFIDENTIALJ. G. S. Beith
13.6
W. B. Stevens
13.6

CONFIDENTIAL

Draft letter

to

Lord Perth

From

Lord Privy Seal.

Thank you for your letter of June 9
about the Sudanese refugees in Uganda.
I am glad to hear that you will ^{be able to} discuss
this problem personally with the Governor
of Uganda this week. Indeed I should very
much welcome it if we could at some point join
in the discussion. It would be useful if
officials from our departments were to have
a talk with the Governor on all aspects of
this complicated problem.

21
H.L.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

June 13, 1961

Thank you for your letter of June 9 about the Sudanese refugees in Uganda. I am glad to hear that you will be able to discuss this problem personally with the Governor of Uganda this week. Indeed I should very much welcome it if we could at some point join in the discussion. It would be useful if officials from our departments were to have a talk with the Governor on all aspects of this complicated problem.

The Right Honourable
The Earl of Perth, P.C.,
Colonial Office,
S.W.1.

1961

V

North and East African Department

SUDAN

VS 1821/27.

FROM Mr Woodroffe
Colonial Office
SECRET

No. EAF 430/671/C2

Dated June 29.

Received June 30.

SUBJECT:

Sudan Refugees -
Note of a meeting in the Colonial Office
on June, 27. (draft).

Brief for the Governor of Uganda for
his meeting with Lord Perth.

References

MINUTES

A) Colonial Office. (corrected version of
the note of a meeting on June, 27.)

(Printing Instructions)

NSC.
vii

(Outward Action)

Off Mr Starke, C.O.
from Mr Smith - 30.

(Action
completed)

CC

(Main Indexed)

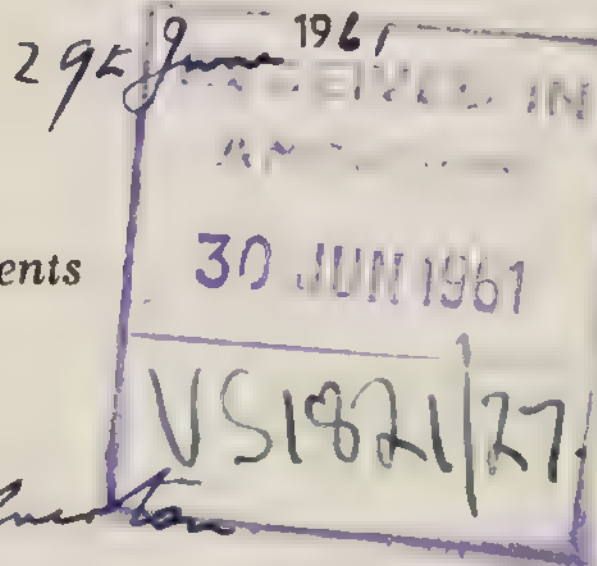
ad
p. 10

Copy of the draft record
of our meeting attached.
Extra copy one being
run off.

COLONIAL OFFICE,
The Church House,
Gt. Smith Street,
London, S.W.1.

With the Compliments
of

K.A. Westmorton



E-157

RAF 430/671/02

Mr. Woolverton

Mr. Staaspoole

Mr. Webber

Secret

Encl. p. 14 below is
incorrect, final or
corrected version
entered herein
NS

SUDANESE REFUGEES IN UGANDA

Note of a meeting at 3.30 p.m. on the 27th June, 1961
in the Colonial Office

Present:-

Sir Frederick Crawford:	Governor, Uganda (in the Chair)
Mr. F.D. Webber:	Colonial Office
Mr. J.G.S. Beith:	Foreign Office
Mr. H.F.T. Smith:	Foreign Office
Mr. J.W. Staaspoole:	Colonial Office
Mr. E.A. Woolverton:	Colonial Office

The meeting considered the position of the Sudanese refugees in Uganda in the light of suggestions contained in a letter from the Lord Privy Seal to the Minister of State for Colonial Affairs dated 6th June, 1961.

The following points were made in discussion:-

(a) Of the seven refugees (eight including William Deng who subsequently reached Uganda via Kenya, it seems that all could be satisfactorily absorbed into the working community in Uganda except Father Saturnino who^m, by the nature of his calling and his determination to publicise the plight of Christians in the Southern Sudan, it would be difficult to resettle in Uganda on conditions acceptable to the Sudan Government. ↑

(b) The Sudan Government had asked for the refugees to be returned but, apart from objections on legal and humanitarian grounds, Mr. Kiwanuka, who

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already found work
and others were trying to do so.
They were split up and some
have remained in the N. Province
(i.e. on the Sudan's borders).

is soon to be appointed Chief Minister in Uganda and who is himself a Roman Catholic, would be sure to oppose this course. Furthermore, any attempt to repatriate the refugees against their will might be frustrated ^{if they applied to the courts for protection} ~~by successful habeas corpus proceedings.~~

(c) There seemed to be advantage in moving Father Saturnino from Uganda provided that he could be occupied in Church duties and in a place where he would not have the opportunity to embarrass the Sudan Government. It had already been suggested that he should be moved to Tanganyika where a place in a seminary could be found for him but the Governor of Tanganyika felt unable to pursue such a delicate matter with the Prime Minister of Tanganyika who is also a Roman Catholic.

(d) There would be no objection ^{to} inviting the Sudanese Government to send a representative into Uganda to try to persuade the refugees to return voluntarily but if such an approach failed we should ~~try~~ at least ~~be~~ be able to assure the Sudan Government that the refugees would be kept under close supervision. On the latter point, Sir Frederick Crawford could not undertake to assign officers to keep the refugees ^{whole-time} ~~permanently~~ under supervision.

The following course of action was agreed:-

- (i) that Her Majesty's Government should not take the initiative in pursuing this question with the Sudan Government;
- (ii) that details provided by the Governor of the present situation with regard to employment of the Sudanese refugees in Uganda should be sent to the Ambassador, Khartoum, for information and that the Uganda Government would be asked to provide a more up-to-date assessment;

(iii) if the Sudan Government again raises the question of the refugees with the Ambassador he should suggest to them that a Sudan Government representative should visit Uganda to try to encourage the refugees to return voluntarily;

(iv) if the course suggested at (iii) fails,

Her Majesty's Government should undertake to split up the refugees and to keep them away from the border areas ~~with the Sudan~~;

(v) that the Governor of Uganda would take an early opportunity to speak to the Apostolic Delegate for East Africa and suggest to him informally that he (the Apostolic Delegate) might ask the Governor of Tanganyika whether there was any objection to his ^(i.e. the Apostolic Delegate) speaking to the Prime Minister with regard to the possibility of accommodating Father Saturnino in a seminary in Tanganyika.

No.

SECRET

DG

Brief for His Excellency the Governor for discussion with Lord Perth on Balinese Refugees

Since 23rd December, 1960, eight refugees from the Indies have entered Uganda and have sought political asylum. (Brief personal details are set out in Appendix 'A' attached.) They gave as their reasons for entering Uganda:

- (i) Fear of savage sentences recently imposed on a number of Balinese Christian politicians;
- (ii) the deliberate policy of the Balinese Government of Islamising the South;
- (iii) the fact that they were under constant surveillance and subject to restrictions;
- (iv) and, more important, their desire to see Uganda as a free free state in which to publish their publications. They clearly wanted to be allowed to do this.

These refugees have been treated with goodwill in Uganda since the arrival of these Balinese Christians, and at the request of the authorities in the Northern Sudan, we are at present screening them from the Northern Province of Uganda and restricting them in the Eastern and Western Provinces. They were named that they should not publish their views in Uganda or abroad in any form of advertisement or propaganda against the Balinese Government. They have not published their views, but information from a reliable Sri Lankan source indicates that they continue their work and intend to publish in the Northern Sudan in order to collect money to assist them to travel elsewhere in publishing their views. Apart from one published report in the "Daily Telegraph" and a short notice in the "Uganda Argus" in January, their presence in Uganda has given rise to no local publicity whatsoever.

2. The eight are married and a good education and have traveled over extensively throughout the length of their stay in Uganda.

3. The Balinese Government is most anxious to have these persons removed to the Indies. The Indonesians fear that they have come into Uganda in order to a revolution in the Northern Indies.

4. The most recent report from the Indonesian for the removal of these persons is contained in a press statement, in the Indonesian press on about 27th May, 1961. This was the first time that the Indonesian Government has made a public statement of its policy towards these persons. It is a good deal of interest to note that the Indonesian Government has not yet published any statement of its policy towards these persons. It is difficult to know what more is now known in this regard. However, all persons with an exception have their freedom of movement in Uganda and in general have been treated with a high degree of tolerance in the Indonesian press. It is possible that the removal of the refugees to the Indies is the source of the

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with the following suggested phrase added:

- (1) They will not be put up for trial or subjected to any further inquiry as a result of their having left the country.
- (2) Their return will not be subject of political or other action.
- (3) The Government of the Republic of the Sudan will not feel bound by criticism that may attach to the foreign power relating to the internal policy in connection with the measure that would allow these applicants to take such steps as they may deem fit.

C. The United Kingdom Refugee Convention, 1951, a copy of which is attached at Appendix IV, provides in Article 33(1) that any refugee or alien of whom it is intended to remove by any means or route to the United Kingdom may claim to be a refugee from the country from which he or they arrived for protection. Article 33(2) contains the important provision that no order shall be made in respect of a refugee of the character or of the nature that such a refugee will be total or partial or an officer of a political character upon arrival in the country from which he came or is likely to be the subject of physical attack in such territory. It is therefore clear that we must legally cover the return of these refugees without a prior guarantee from the Government that no incident in their case is now underway.

7. Further internal considerations are:

- (a) The reaction in the United Kingdom is likely to be unfavourable. Mr. Dorell told what the Secretary of State for the Colonies on 7th February, 1961, how many members of the Sudanese Parliament had sought political asylum in Uganda and whether asylum had been granted and what explanation had been made by the Sudanese Government for their return. The Secretary of State replied that the refugees had been treated with courtesy under the United Kingdom Refugee Ordinance pending a decision about their return and stated in reply to a supplementary question that the points had been that there should be no registration where one is present that they will be neither total nor partial or political refugees nor subjected to physical attack. It appears likely that return of these refugees to the Sudan would involve R.I.C. in considerable criticism since it will be impossible to prevent publicity.

- (b) Immigrants in Uganda are also likely to be unfavourable. These men are all Roman Catholics and are all members of bodies closely related to the Sudan in Uganda's Pastoral Program. The Apostolic

Continued.....

SECRET

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Delegates to East Africa is aware of their presence here and has shown considerable concern about the future of Father Semakula in particular. The Democratic Party cannot fail to be aware of their continued presence in Uganda and it is certain that if they were returned to the Sudan the leader of the Opposition would seek to use this as another ground on which to attack the Democratic Party.

8. Lord Perth will no doubt put forward the reasons for maintaining good relations with the Sudanese. From our point of view this is also important since the Sudanese Government is hindered by turning back some of the students travelling up the New Britain "pipeline" through the Sudan to Cairo. This is of course of limited value as long as we have no legislation designed to prevent students from travelling outside Uganda to take up studies elsewhere.

9. We are also interested in ensuring that the Sudan does not provide an open route for the movement of U.A.R. supplies and money to Stanleyville and it is in our interests to keep them production rather than otherwise. Our Embassy at Khartoum advise that though these Sudanese refugees may seem to us to be a comparatively minor matter they assume tremendous importance in the eyes of the Sudanese Government because of their quite emotional sensitivity as far as the Southern Sudan is concerned.

10. An appendix "F" appended is a copy of a letter addressed to Lord Perth. The points made in that letter are tabulated as follows:

- (i) The Sudan are aware that it lies within our power to return these refugees.
- (ii) This is correct. We have, however, been our best to persuade the Sudanese authorities through our Ambassador at Khartoum that to return their Sudan would have considerable disadvantages not only for the Sudan but for Egypt and Uganda.
- (iii) It is correct to believe that the Sudanese may refuse to cooperate in returning Uganda students proceeding along the "pipeline".
- (iv) This may be so but in view of our inability to attract students from leaving Uganda for this reason if they wish to do so, and particularly in view of the one route which has been opened through the Sudd, this assistance by the Sudan, while welcome, is of limited value.
- (v) The Sudanese might be more willing to cooperate in frontier matters generally.
- (vi) We will recognize that if they did this we should expect a continuation of incidents along our frontiers such as have arisen over the last three or four years and the boundary demarcation which we wish for may be even further delayed.

SECRET

(iv) The Sudanese would think if we did not return them now that we did not accept their commitment about non-violence.

Summary: This is a danger which must be accepted. There can never probably be safe from victimization if they lived in or near Khartoum but it is doubtful whether they would be equally safe in Sudanese Province where the opportunities for independent action by agents of the Sudanese Government without publicity are much greater than they presumably are in the North. It is suggested that if it is accepted that these refugees must be returned that they should be returned to Khartoum and not pushed back across the border into Sudanese Province.

(v) The writer of the letter suggests that the Foreign Office should agree to return them now if the Sudan Government agree although some criticism in the House of Commons and elsewhere is likely. He says, however, that if Uganda do not feel that they can return the refugees then the Foreign Office should be prepared to back us up despite the risk that this would harm U.K.'s relations with the Sudan.

Summary: The issue of returning these now by air-sea would therefore appear to lie very much with Uganda.

(vi) If the refugees are not returned, facilities should be offered for someone to talk to the men in Uganda and try to persuade them to return voluntarily.

Summary: There would appear to be no objection to this, and indeed there is everything to be gained from Uganda's point of view in bringing about the voluntary return of these refugees, but it is very doubtful if we would agree to do so whatever promises were made by the Sudanese Government.

(vii) In any case we should assure the Sudanese that the refugees will be kept well away from the frontier.

Summary: This has been arranged and we will continue to ensure that they are kept as far away from the Sudanese border as possible.

(viii) We should also guarantee that they are not engaging in any political activity.

Summary: We are doing what we can to ensure that this is so and hope to do more by separating the refugees from each other and particularly by removing Sabuniho.

(ix) Otherwise we should make arrangements to have the refugees sent elsewhere outside East Africa.

Summary: It is not considered that the Sudanese will be prepared to accept this. We have given a categorical

Continued.....

SECRET

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- 1 -

assurance that we will not allow these refugees to proceed to any third country and it is thought that the Sudanese would recognize that the Uganda Government is probably in a better position to keep the refugees immobile and ineffective than anyone else. It is relevant that the Sudanese authorities have invalidated the passports of seven of these refugees. Three of their passports are now held by the Ag. F.S.E.R.R. on the understanding that they will not be returned to the Sudanese Government for the time being. Apart from the difficulty which these refugees would find in travelling far without a valid passport, powers exist under the Control of Alien Refugees Ordinance (Section 17) to prevent them leaving the Protectorate without permission. In any case Fungwayika has already firmly indicated that it will not accept Saturnino and the Governor has not reported Uganda's enquiry in this connection to Eyadema as it would cause him grave embarrassment.

- (ii) The Holy See should be approached to bring influence to bear on the Holy See.

This could possibly be done best by making through the Apostolic Delegate to East Africa who has already had lengthy discussions with F.S. on the subject of Father Saturnino. It would clearly be impossible to enter into any formal understanding with the Holy See on this matter as any leakage of details of this understanding would be extremely embarrassing to both parties.

(iii) It is recommended:

- (i) that the refugees should not be returned to the Sudan;
- (ii) that no reply should be sent by the Sudanese Government until it is clear that the matter is under consideration;
- (iii) that the refugees should all be resettled away from the Northern Province and if possible outside Uganda;
- (iv) that the Apostolic Delegate should be asked to find a job for Father Saturnino in a mission and do not let us see him out of sight.

(v) By this means it is thought that the refugees will remain clustered in Uganda as many refugees from the Sudan have been taken over (Iraq, Syria, Palestine) and gradually be assimilated in the Sudanese Government.

SECRET

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DG

APR 1961 '61

THOMAS J. BROWN

1. THOMAS J. BROWN

Tribe - Lotuka

Member of Parliament

Member of Parliament

Leader of Lotuka

Entered Uganda with intention of proceeding to Britain and U.S.A. to publicize his difficulties in the Ugandan Sudan.

Father Submittal is now in Kampala awaiting a decision as to his future. R.R. discussed this case with the Apostolic Delegate in East Africa who stated that Submittal was likely to be held on a transport ship should it be returned to the Sudan. The Apostolic Delegate suggested that there would be advantage to be gained in sending Submittal to Dar es Salaam. The Governor, Tanganyika would not accept the suggestion because of the embarrassment it would cause Uganda and our Ambassador at Dar es Salaam stated that Submittal's transfer to Dar es Salaam would not be in accordance with the terms of the undertaking given to the Sudan that those refugees should not be allowed to move to a third country. Submittal's passport has been invalidated and is in A/100's custody.

2. THOMAS J. BROWN

Tribe - Lotuka

Member of Parliament

Entered Uganda through Kitale

Served as National Officer, Class II in the Sudan between Force until break up of unit of Defence Force in 1958 after the mutiny. He was not involved in the mutiny and was a trader in the Sudan after he left the army. He is at present in Kampala. Efforts are being made to find him suitable employment in Eastern or Western Sudan. He has his family with him. He is stated by the Sudanese authorities to be the holder of passport No. 20417, issued on 1st March, 1960. He claims that he did not bring his passport with him when he entered Uganda because he and his party left the Sudan in a considerable hurry.

3. THOMAS J. BROWN

Tribe - Lotuka

Member of Parliament

Arrived with Oyot through Kitale

Teacher

He is being accommodated as a teacher in a Primary Training School under the control of the Hill Hill Mission.

Continued....

SECRET

SECRET

DG

Memorandum (continued)

- 1 -

1. Mr. Smith. His passport, which has been invalidated, is in S/Sgt. Smith's custody at present.

2. Mr. Smith
Tribe - Asholi
Member of Parliament
Arrived with Oye through Kitale

Efforts are being made at present to find his employment. He is in Kampala meanwhile. His passport, which has been invalidated, is in S/Sgt. Smith's custody.

3. Mr. Smith
Tribe - Didinga
Member of Parliament

Arrived Uganda through Nairobi in 1944. He is at present in Kampala while efforts to find his employment in the Government are being made. His passport, No. 12345, issued in 1944, is in S/Sgt. Smith's custody.

4. Mr. Smith
Former Secretary of the South African Liberal Party in that area. He is now employed in Eastern Province. He has no passport at present.

5. Mr. Smith
Tribe - Asholi
Arrived Uganda in 1944 through

Previously, Mr. Smith, arrived from 1944 while his passport was in 1944. His passport is in S/Sgt. Smith's custody and he is now employed in the Government. He is now in Kampala while efforts to find his employment in the Government are being made. His passport, No. 12345, issued in 1944, is in S/Sgt. Smith's custody.

6. Mr. Smith
Tribe - Asholi

Arrived Uganda in 1944 through 1944, having previously arrived from the Government in 1944. He is now in Kampala while efforts to find his employment in the Government are being made. His passport, No. 12345, issued in 1944, is in S/Sgt. Smith's custody.

End of Memorandum

SECRET

SECRET

DG

SECRET (continued)

William J. (continued)

We are doubtful of the bona fides of this particular refugee who is known to have been in touch with R. Kennedy, Secretary of the U.S.C. (Klanish faction) and is thought to have been in touch with Omer Allouali. A close watch is being kept on him as he is probably the one most likely to get involved in internal politics during his stay in Uganda. His passport, No. 2228, issued on 26th May, 1960, has also been scrutinized. It has so far proved impossible to persuade him to hand it over.

SECRET

Despatched in NEAD
30.6.61.

RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES

30 JUN 1961

CONFIDENTIAL

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

June 30, 1961.

We had a word yesterday about the record of the meeting with Sir Frederick Crawford when we discussed the Sudanese refugees in Uganda. You agreed that sub paragraph iv on the third page of the record was incorrect, and you undertook to let me have a copy of the notes on the refugees, which will show among other things that the group had been split up and that none of them remained near the border with the Sudan. It would be most helpful if I could have the notes, and your comments, if any, on the enclosed draft of a letter to H.M. Chargé d'Affaires at Khartoum by first thing Monday morning, so that we may catch the weekly bag which leaves that day.

(H.F.T. Smith)

J.M. Stacpoole, Esq.,
COLONIAL OFFICE.

CONFIDENTIAL

EAF.430/671/02

AMC

6 JUL 1961

SUDANESE REFUGEES IN UGANDA

Note of a meeting at 3.30 p.m. on the 27th June, 1961
in the Colonial Office.

VS1821/27(A)

Present:-

Mr. F.D. Webber	(in the Chair)
Sir Frederick Crawford:	Governor, Uganda
Mr. J.G.S. Beith:	Foreign Office
Mr. H.F.T. Smith:	Foreign Office
Mr. J.W. Stacpoole:	Colonial Office
Mr. K.A. Woolverton:	Colonial Office

The meeting considered the position of the Sudanese refugees in Uganda in the light of suggestions contained in a letter from the Lord Privy Seal to the Minister of State for Colonial Affairs dated 6th June, 1961.

The following points were made in discussion:-

- none
- (a) Of the seven refugees (eight including William Deng who subsequently reached Uganda via Kenya) it seems that all could be satisfactorily absorbed into the working community in Uganda except Father Saturnino ~~whom~~, by the nature of his calling and his determination to publicize the plight of Christians in the Southern Sudan, it would be difficult to resettle in Uganda on conditions acceptable to the Sudan Government. Of the rest, some had already found work and others were trying to do so. They were split up and ~~some~~ now remained in the Northern Province (i.e. on the Sudan's borders).
 - (b) The Sudan Government had asked for the refugees to be returned but, apart from objections on legal and humanitarian grounds, Mr. Kiwanuka, who is soon to be appointed Chief Minister in Uganda and who is himself a Roman Catholic, would be sure to oppose this course. Furthermore, any attempt to repatriate the refugees against their will might be frustrated if they applied to the courts for protection.
 - (c) There seemed to be advantage in moving Father Saturnino from Uganda provided that he could be occupied in Church duties and in a place where he would not have

/the

the opportunity to embarrass the Sudan Government. It had already been suggested that he should be moved to Tanganyika where a place in a seminary could be found for him but the Governor of Tanganyika felt unable to pursue such a delicate matter with the Prime Minister of Tanganyika who is also a Roman Catholic.

- (d) There would be no objection to inviting the Sudan Government to send a representative into Uganda to try to persuade the refugees to return voluntarily but if such an approach failed we should at least be able to assure the Sudan Government that the refugees would be kept under close supervision. On the latter point, Sir Frederick Crawford could not undertake to assign officers to keep the refugees under whole-time supervision.

The following course of action was agreed:-

- (i) that Her Majesty's Government should not take the initiative in pursuing this question with the Sudan Government;
- (ii) that details provided by the Governor of the present situation with regard to employment of the Sudanese refugees in Uganda should be sent to the Ambassador, Khartoum, for information and that the Uganda Government would be asked to provide a more up-to-date assessment;
- (iii) if the Sudan Government again raises the question of the refugees with the Ambassador he should suggest to them that a Sudan Government representative should visit Uganda to try to encourage the refugees to return voluntarily;
- (iv) Her Majesty's Government should also inform the Sudan Government that the refugees had been split up and moved away from the border areas;
- (v) that the Governor of Uganda would take an early opportunity to speak to the Apostolic Delegate for East Africa and suggest to him informally that he (the Apostolic Delegate) might ask the Governor of Tanganyika whether there was any objection to his (i.e. the Apostolic Delegate's) speaking to the Prime Minister with regard to the possibility of accommodating Father Saturnino in church duties in Tanganyika.

C.O./4271/61

EAF.430/671/02

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Mr. J.W. Stacpoole:	Colonial Office
Mr. K.A. Woolverton:	Colonial Office

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the opportunity to embarrass the Sudan Government. It had already been suggested that he should be moved to Tanganyika where a place in a seminary could be found for him but the Governor of Tanganyika felt unable to pursue such a delicate matter with the Prime Minister of Tanganyika who is also a Roman Catholic.

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C.O./4271/61

1961

V

North and East African Department

SUDAN

VS 1821/28

FROM FO Minute
Mr. Brown.

CONFIDENTIAL

No.

Dated June, 30
Received June, 30.

SUBJECT:

Sudan Refugees
Talk with General Abdel Hakeem. -
gives his reasons for believing that
H.M.G. will not accept the return of
the refugees to the Sudan.

References

MINUTES

This has been copied to Khartoum
on this day.
Ome
77

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action
completed)

CL

(Main Indexed)

9/10/62

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

RECEIVED
ARCHIVED
30 JUN 1961

US1824/28

Σ-45
Minutes

CONFIDENTIAL

Sudanese Refugees In Uganda.

Talk with Daud Abdel Latif.

I had a long talk over lunch on June 28 with Daud Abdel Latif who was formerly Chairman of the Commission for resettlement of Wadi Halfa refugees. It will be remembered that he retired from public service after a disagreement with his Government. We covered many subjects, some of which I am dealing with on other papers. But of his own accord he raised the question of the Sudanese refugees in Uganda.

2. He said that he had heard from the Americans that the British Government were weakening on this question. I replied that, so far as I knew, no final decision had been taken. It was a very difficult and embarrassing affair for us.

3. Daud said he realised it was embarrassing but he did not think we had any choice. We must refuse the Sudanese Government's request. Indeed he was surprised that we had hesitated so long. Morally there could be no doubt. There were no charges against these men. They had run away because their lives had been made impossible. They were spied on and impeded at every turn. Why else should a man like William Deng, who had an excellent career before him, throw it all up? Daud recognised that political decisions could not always be taken on moral grounds. But in this case expediency too was against returning the men.

4. He then gave his reasons at great length and with immense conviction. I have tried to tidy them up and tabulate them as follows, but in doing so I fear I may have over-simplified his arguments:

(a) The promises of the present Sudanese Government could not be trusted.

(b) There was a belief among the Southern Sudanese - perhaps it was a myth - that the British were interested in their welfare and would always keep an eye on them. If this belief was destroyed, the Southerners would have nothing left to hold on to. They would fall into the hands of the extremists and there would be chaos. Everyone would suffer - North as well.

(c) Equally there would be trouble in Uganda and other parts of Black Africa. We must face the fact that Africa was splitting into Black and North; or, if I liked, into Christians and Muslims. Injustice to the Southern Sudanese would cause trouble for us elsewhere and would

CONFIDENTIAL

/intensify

CONFIDENTIAL

Minutes

intensify the division.

(d) The British enjoyed a good deal of influence in the South. Perhaps this was not important now but it would be in ten years time. Were we to throw it away for the sake of avoiding the momentary vexation of the Sudan Government or, at the worst, a temporary decrease in trade?

(e) No one in the Sudan expected us to send these men back. Daud had spoken to many senior Civil Servants (he named in particular the Permanent Under-Secretaries in the Ministries of the Interior and of Finance (Hassan Abdalla and Hamza Mirghani) and they had regarded repatriation as unthinkable. Even those who wanted the men returned wanted at the same time the opposite. If I would accept the paradox, they wanted not to be disappointed in the reputation which the British had for sticking to a principle.

5. Daud went on to say that in his view the Government's policy of Islamisation and Arabisation in the South was a "catastrophe". It would not work; it would indeed make the division between North and South even more bitter. The man behind the policy was the Minister of Education, Ziyade Arbab, a bitter and unhappy man; and he (Daud) hated everything he stood for. I remarked that we had been disappointed at some of the statements made by Ali Baldo, Governor of Equatoria. Daud said this man wanted to be a Permanent Under-Secretary and would do what ever he felt was most likely to get him there.

6. Daud's views have ^{he} more authority because he is himself a Muslim and because he was formerly Governor of Equatoria. On the other hand he is strongly opposed to the present Government in the Sudan on other, more central, grounds than their Southern policy, and he may therefore be prejudiced. Though at times he was clearly exaggerating his case, I was impressed by his sincerity and particularly by his intelligence.

A. J. M. Craig

(A. J. M. Craig)
June 30, 1961

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

V

North and East African Department

V S 1821/29

SUDAN

FROM

K.O. Minn
Mr J.G.S. Beth.

SECRET.

No.

Dated

Received

July 4.
July 11

SUBJECT:

Sudanese refugees in Uganda
-meeting in Colonial Office
with officials & Governor of Uganda

References

SEE MINUTES with

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

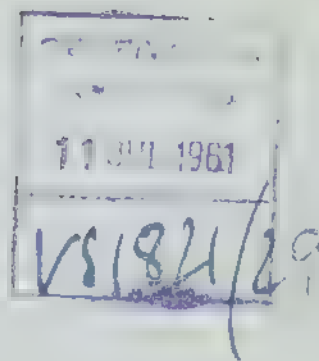
Dpt. Earl of Bath.
Colonial Office from
Lord P...
Dpt. T.F. Brechin
KHA RTOWN
Mr J.G.S. Beth.

(Action
completed)

(Main Indexed)

SECRET

SUDANESE REFUGEES IN UGANDA



Flag A The Lord Privy Seal wrote to Lord Perth on June 6. On June 27 I attended a meeting in the Colonial Office between officials and the Governor of Uganda, who was familiar with the views expressed in Mr. Heath's letter. The attached draft to Khartoum, which has been cleared with the Colonial Office at the official level, is the outcome of that meeting. I think it so obviously fits in with the views expressed by Lord Perth that there is no need to clear it with him personally, but the Lord Privy Seal may wish to send him a copy under cover of a letter on the lines of the second draft below.

J.G.S. Beith

(J.G.S. Beith)
July 4, 1961.

Lord Privy Seal

J.R. Hornbaker

8:7

LAH/

Agnes
12/7

SECRET

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Registry
No.

SECRET

Top Secret.
Secret.

Confidential.
Restricted.
Open.

Draft.

Lord Perth,
C.O.

Handwritten initials

From
Lord Privy Seal

Flag C In your letter of June 9
you said you would get in touch with me
again about the Sudanese refugees in
Uganda after you had discussed this
question with the Governor. As your people
have no doubt told you, officials of
our two departments had a meeting with Crawford
in the C.O. on June 27. They reached
agreement on a course of action which meets
the points we discussed, and I am enclosing
a copy of a letter which we have now sent to
the Embassy in Khartoum.

Handwritten mark

SECRET

FOREIGN OFFICE,

July 7, 1961.

In your letter of June 9 you said you would get in touch with me again about the Sudanese refugees in Uganda after you had discussed this question with the Governor. As your people have no doubt told you, officials of our two departments had a meeting with Crawford in the Colonial Office on June 27. They reached agreement on a course of action which meets the points we discussed, and I am enclosing a copy of a letter which we have now sent to the Embassy in Khartoum.

Edward Heath

The Right Honourable

The Earl of Perth,
Colonial Office,
Church House,
St. Smith Street,
S.W.1.

+ 2, cc

SECRET

Registry
No. VSI 821/29

Flag B

Top Secret.
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Open.

Draft.

Mr. Branchley,
Khartoum.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

From

Mr. J.G.S.
Beith.

L.H.

Enclosures attached
(copies entered separately)

RECEIVED IN
DIVISION
10 JUL 1961

1961 JUL 10
DIVISION
RECEIVED IN

4252. H.W.



In my letter of June 5 I said that Ministers were likely to decide against returning the Sudanese refugees in Uganda. I now confirm that the only circumstances in which we would have been prepared to return the men would have been if the Uganda Government had itself asked us to do so. It was clear from a recent meeting which we had with the Colonial Office and Sir Frederick Crawford that the Government of Uganda would resist such a move. Mr. Kiwanuka, who is soon to be appointed Chief Minister and who is himself a Roman Catholic, has already made it clear that he would be most strongly opposed to the men's forced return.

2. As a result of this discussion we have agreed to ask you to adopt the following course of action. You should not take the initiative in raising the matter again with the Sudanese authorities. If they raise it with you, you should tell them that the group has been split up, that none of these people is near the border and that efforts are being made, with a good deal of success, to get them to take up local jobs as far as possible, dispersed as possible, so that as to keep them out of mischief.

You may draw discreetly on the first enclosure to this letter to support this point, bearing in mind that much of the detail is Special Branch material. You could then go on to say that if the Sudan Govt.

SECRET

/wished

SECRET

wished to send someone to Uganda to try to persuade these people to return, we should be happy to provide every facility. In this connexion you might think it worth adding that if, as we assume, the recent reply to the representations of various religious groups about freedom of worship means that the non-Moslem communities are fully safeguarded, the Sudanese authorities may be able to use this fact effectively with the refugees. You should if necessary, however, make it clear that our own principles and the views of political leaders in Uganda would preclude the forcible return of these people. (In this connexion you may be interested to see the second enclosure, a record of a talk which James Craig had with Daoud Abdel Latif, who claimed that people in the Sudan did not expect the men to be returned, and that even the Sudan Government would in some sense be disappointed in us if we gave way.)

3. We hope that a reply on these lines would hold the line. We also think that if it were possible to get Saturnino out of Uganda and into a religious institution in Tanganyika, this might help. Crawford told us that the Apostolic Delegate was anxious to place Saturnino in a seminary in Tanganyika where he would be told to devote himself to research and placed under Church orders not to engage in other activities. Although this suggestion has been turned down by the Governor of Tanganyika, who was unwilling to pursue it with Nyerere (who is also a Roman

SECRET

/Catholic)

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

451821/28

SECRET

Catholic), Crawford intends to look into it further. He also recognises the importance of keeping these refugees under supervision so that we can give the Sudan Government assurances that they are not engaging in political activity across the frontier; though I think we are bound to recognise that he simply does not have sufficient staff to keep them under constant physical surveillance.

HS 10 /
vii

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

SECRET

S E C R E T

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

(VS 1821/29)

July 10, 1961.

In my letter of June 5 I said that Ministers were likely to decide against returning the Sudanese refugees in Uganda. I now confirm that the only circumstances in which we would have been prepared to return the men would have been if the Uganda Government had itself asked us to do so. It was clear from a recent meeting which we had with the Colonial Office and Sir Frederick Crawford that the Government of Uganda would resist such a move. Mr. Kiwanuka, who is soon to be appointed Chief Minister and who is himself a Roman Catholic, has already made it clear that he would be most strongly opposed to the men's forced return.

2. As a result of this discussion we have agreed to ask you to adopt the following course of action. You should not take the initiative in raising the matter again with the Sudanese authorities. If they raise it with you, you should tell them that the group has been split up, that none of these people is near the border and that efforts are being made, with a good deal of success, to get them to take up local jobs as geographically dispersed as possible, so as to keep them out of mischief. You may draw discreetly on the first enclosure to this letter to support this point, bearing in mind that much of the detail is Special Branch material. You could then go on to say that if the Sudan Government wished to send someone to Uganda to try to persuade these people to return, we should be happy to provide every facility. In this connexion you might think it worth adding that if, as we assume, the recent reply to the representations of various religious groups about freedom of worship means that the non-Moslem communities are fully safeguarded, the Sudanese authorities may be able to use this fact effectively with the refugees. You should if necessary, however, make it clear that our own principles and the views of political leaders in Uganda would preclude the forcible return of these people. (In this connexion you may be interested to see the second enclosure, a record of a talk which James Craig had with Daoud Abdel Latif, who claimed that people in the Sudan did not expect the men to be returned, and that even the Sudan Government would in some sense be disappointed in us if we gave way).

/ 3.

T.F. Branchley, Esq.,
Khartoum.

S E C R E T

SECRET

3. We hope that a reply on these lines would hold the line. We also think that if it were possible to get Saturnino out of Uganda and into a religious institution in Tanganyika, this might help. Crawford told us that the Apostolic Delegate was anxious to place Saturnino in a seminary in Tanganyika where he would be told to devote himself to research and placed under Church orders not to engage in other activities. Although this suggestion has been turned down by the Governor of Tanganyika, who was unwilling to pursue it with Nyerere (who is also a Roman Catholic), Crawford intends to look into it further. He also recognises the importance of keeping these refugees under supervision so that we can give the Sudan Government assurances that they are not engaging in political activity across the frontier; though I think we are bound to recognise that he simply does not have sufficient staff to keep them under constant physical surveillance.

(J.G.S. Beith)

SECRET

1961

V

North and East African Department

SUDAN

V

FROM

East African
Commission
for the
Development
of the
Sudan

No.

Dated

Received

SUBJECT:

(The East African Commission for the Development of the Sudan)
- The East African Commission for the Development of the Sudan
- The East African Commission for the Development of the Sudan
- The East African Commission for the Development of the Sudan

References

MINUTES

draft minute.

Amending
20/7

A) F.C. Minute, 1st session, 1961, p. 1

Amending
26/7

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action completed)

(Main Indexed)

27/7/61

28/7/62

1. Look for Seal
2. N.E. Africa Dept Ref. 7.
(Inform on telephone)



COLONIAL OFFICE
GREAT SMITH STREET
LONDON S.W.1

CONFIDENTIAL

5th July, 1961.

10 JUL 1961
S. E. A.

W

Dear Ted

.... Since you wrote to me on the 13th June about the Sudanese refugees in Uganda, officials from our Departments have discussed the position with the Governor and I enclose a copy of the record of the meeting.

I understand that your Department has now written to H.M. Charge d'Affaires at Khartoum who will inform the Sudan Government, if they raise the matter, that the refugees have been split up and none is now near the border area and that efforts are being made to find them employment in Uganda. I also understand that the Sudan Government will be invited to send a representative to Uganda to try to persuade the refugees to return voluntarily.

Father Saturnino is still a problem and must be discouraged from any activities directed against the Sudan Government while he is a political refugee in our territories.

the record
some of the
I don't
R.C.
C. H. 7/7
David

THE RT. HON. EDWARD HEATH, M.B.E., M.P.

EAF.430/671/02

SUDANESE REFUGEES IN UGANDA

Note of a meeting at 3.30 p.m. on the 27th June, 1961
in the Colonial Office.

Present:-

Mr. F.D. Webber	(in the Chair)
Sir Frederick Crawford:	Governor, Uganda
Mr. J.G.S. Beith:	Foreign Office
Mr. H.F.T. Smith:	Foreign Office
Mr. J.W. Stacpoole:	Colonial Office
Mr. K.A. Woolverton:	Colonial Office

The meeting considered the position of the Sudanese refugees in Uganda in the light of suggestions contained in a letter from the Lord Privy Seal to the Minister of State for Colonial Affairs dated 6th June, 1961.

The following points were made in discussion:-

- Summary
- (a) Of the seven refugees (eight including William Deng who subsequently reached Uganda via Kenya) it seems that all could be satisfactorily absorbed into the working community in Uganda except Father Saturnino whom, by the nature of his calling and his determination to publicize the plight of Christians in the Southern Sudan, it would be difficult to resettle in Uganda on conditions acceptable to the Sudan Government. Of the rest, some had already found work and others were trying to do so. They were split up and some now remained in the Northern Province (i.e. on the Sudan's borders).
 - (b) The Sudan Government had asked for the refugees to be returned but, apart from objections on legal and humanitarian grounds, Mr. Kiwanuka, who is soon to be appointed Chief Minister in Uganda and who is himself a Roman Catholic, would be sure to oppose this course. Furthermore, any attempt to repatriate the refugees against their will might be frustrated if they applied to the courts for protection.
 - (c) There seemed to be advantage in moving Father Saturnino from Uganda provided that he could be occupied in Church duties and in a place where he would not have

/the

the opportunity to embarrass the Sudan Government. It had already been suggested that he should be moved to Tanganyika where a place in a seminary could be found for him but the Governor of Tanganyika felt unable to pursue such a delicate matter with the Prime Minister of Tanganyika who is also a Roman Catholic.

- (d) There would be no objection to inviting the Sudan Government to send a representative into Uganda to try to persuade the refugees to return voluntarily but if such an approach failed we should at least be able to assure the Sudan Government that the refugees would be kept under close supervision. On the latter point, Sir Frederick Crawford could not undertake to assign officers to keep the refugees under whole-time supervision.

The following course of action was agreed:-

- (i) that Her Majesty's Government should not take the initiative in pursuing this question with the Sudan Government;
- (ii) that details provided by the Governor of the present situation with regard to employment of the Sudanese refugees in Uganda should be sent to the Ambassador, Khartoum, for information and that the Uganda Government would be asked to provide a more up-to-date assessment;
- (iii) if the Sudan Government again raises the question of the refugees with the Ambassador he should suggest to them that a Sudan Government representative should visit Uganda to try to encourage the refugees to return voluntarily;
- (iv) Her Majesty's Government should also inform the Sudan Government that the refugees had been split up and moved away from the border areas;
- (v) that the Governor of Uganda would take an early opportunity to speak to the Apostolic Delegate for East Africa and suggest to him informally that he (the Apostolic Delegate) might ask the Governor of Tanganyika whether there was any objection to his (i.e. the Apostolic Delegate's) speaking to the Prime Minister with regard to the possibility of accommodating Father Saturnino in church duties in Tanganyika.

C.O./4271/51

P/W
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 AUG 1961
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 VS 1821/30 (1)

CONFIDENTIAL

SECRETARY GENERAL'S OFFICE IN U.N.D.A.

File: A
 VS 1821/30

On Lord Perth's letter enclosing a copy of the record of the meeting held in the Colonial Office on this subject the Lord Privy Seal has made two comments:

- (a) "'Some' must surely be 'none'".
 There is indeed a misprint here. We have told the Colonial Office and they have corrected the record.
- (b) "I do not understand this - as Nyerere is P.C. he will presumably be more sympathetic."
 The record here is over-condensed.
 It was recalled that the Governor of Tanganyika had refused to ask Nyerere to admit Saturnino, no doubt because he thought that there was no reason why Tanganyika should embarrass itself by taking over Uganda's troubles. Moreover, there may be a hint that the Governor did not wish to ask for Nyerere's support in achieving the political neutralisation of a Roman Catholic priest, thus accepting that the latter had exceeded his proper duties. Anyway, the Governor thought that (v) might be the better way to pursue this project.

Mr Wilford

A.M. John Bate
 (A.G.S. Smith)
 July 20, 1961.

Handwritten signature

CONFIDENTIAL

V

North and East African Department

V S 187

1961

SUDAN

FROM

Mr. T. S. ...
...

SUBJECT:

... ..
... ..
... ..

No.

55

Dated

Received

References

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13/7

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

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(Action completed)

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(Main Indexed)

9/11/62

V
FROM KHARTOUM TO FOREIGN OFFICE

V
En Clair

DEPARTMENTAL DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Brenchley

No. 532

D. 12.20 p.m. July 11, 1961

July 11, 1961

R. 1.15 p.m. July 11, 1961

Addressed to Governor Uganda telegram No. 41 of
July 11.

Repeated for information to Foreign Office and Addis Ababa.

Sudanese Refugees.

Sudan Government have received report that William Deng is now in Ethiopia carrying a British passport. I assume report is mistaken. Please confirm Deng's present whereabouts.

[Copy sent to Telegram Section C.O. for
repetition to Uganda]

DISTRIBUTED TO:

United Nations Department

N.E.A.D.

W.C.A.D.

EEEEEEEE



1967

V

North and East African Department

SUDAN

V S 1821/52

FROM Mr T.F. Benchler.
KHARTOUM.
CONFIDENTIAL
No. 569.
Dated July 20.
Received July 25

SUBJECT:
"Tell the World of My People's
right. - Sudan Refugees in
Uganda - article by SENG
- violation of undertakings

References

MINUTES

Action at 134

Done
1/8

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

84(3) K Wotwerton,
Colonial Office

(Action completed)

(Main Indexed)

21/7/67

21/7/67

V

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM KHARTOUM TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL
DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Brenchley

No. 569

July 20, 1961

VS 821

D. 11.50 a.m. July 20, 1961

R. 11.58 a.m. July 20, 1961

PRIORITY

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Entebbe telegram No. 42 of July 20.

Repeated for information to Foreign Office

Dar-es-Salaam

Nairobi

Addis Ababa

My telegram No. 41 ([grp. undec. ? not] repeated to all).

VS 1821/31

I have now seen a copy of an [grp. undec. ? inflammatory] letter to the editor, signed by Deng, in the Nairobi newspaper "Daily Nation" of July 13 entitled "Let me tell the world of my People's Plight." The address given is Dar-es-Salaam.

2. The article, which is no doubt available to you, constitutes a clear violation of Deng's undertaking not to engage in political activities. You will recall that on instructions of Her Majesty's Government (Foreign Office telegram No. 192 of February 16 to Khartoum) we informed the Sudan Government that upon refugees attempting to break the terms of their permits you would have no hesitation in returning them to the Sudan under the control of the Alien Refugees Ordinance.

3. I shall be glad of your comments.

Foreign Office pass Priority to Entebbe No. 42, Nairobi No. 21, Dar-es-Salaam No. 6 and Addis Ababa No. 25.

[Repeated as requested and copy sent to Telegraph Section C.D. for repetition to Entebbe, Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam]

25 22

CONFIDENTIAL

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1961

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- William Douglas disappeared

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References

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134

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action completed)

(Main Indexed)

266

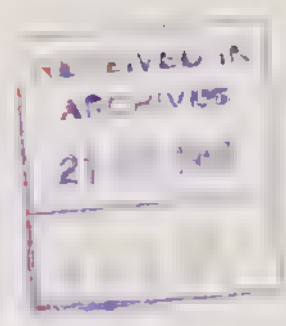
9/10/62

CONFIDENTIAL

INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

Encl.



FROM UGANDA (Sir F. Crawford)

Cypher (O.T.P.)

D. 20th July, 1961

R. 20th " " 12.50 hours.

CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL
Personal No. 180

Addressed to Ambassador, Khartoum No. 30

Repeated to S. of S.

" " Governor, Tanganyika No. 30.

Your telegram No. 561 (Khartoum to F.O. No. 532).

William Deng.

VS1821/31

I very much regret Sudanese information on this man may be correct. Deng has disappeared and we have been trying to trace him for the last 14 days. Present information is that he may recently have been in Dar es Salaam. Enquiries are continuing. His family is still in Uganda.

2. He did not obtain British passport in Uganda. It is possible that he is still travelling on his Sudanese passport.

3. All other refugees are still in Uganda and we are tightening up still further our arrangements for their surveillance. Full details of their present whereabouts and activities follow by bag.

4. If you think fit please assure Sudanese of our sincere regrets that Deng (? has) succeeded in escaping and of our continued efforts to restrain other refugees.

5. You should know that (?Marko) Marjan, ex Sudanese M.P. for Yei East arrived in Uganda on 10th July and has asked for political asylum. He is being interrogated at present.

Copies sent to:-

Foreign Office
" "

- Mr. H.F.T. Smith
- Mr. Craig.

CONFIDENTIAL

V

North and East African Department

V

SUDAN

FROM

Mr T. P. O. O. O. O.

SUBJECT:

... ..
- all
... ..
- will be
... ..

No

Dated

Received

References

- 33

MINUTES

4
... ..

A) Khartoum, 609, August 8.

(Printing Instructions)

... ..

... ..
9/10

(Outward Action)

Tel) Khartoum, 859, 25/7.
cc) F.D. Webber, C.O. 21/7.

(Action completed)

(Main Indexed)

... ..
9/10/61

... ..
9/10/61

V

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM KHARTOUM TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL
DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Brenchley

No. 573

D: 11.34 a.m. July 21, 1961.

July 21, 1961.

R: 11.50 a.m. July 21, 1961.

IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 573 of

July 21

Repeated for information (Personal) to Governor Uganda

Governor Tanganyika

Entebbe telegram No. 30 personal to me. ~ VS1821 33

I am informing the Sudanese Minister for Foreign Affairs of the contents of paragraph 1 (less first sentence), paragraph 2 (less the second sentence) and paragraph 4 (omitting reference to other refugees) of telegram under reference.

2. Deng's escape, together with his letter to the Daily Nation, when it becomes known, will inevitably increase the Sudan Government's pressure for the return of other refugees. They will point out that the assurances given in the fourth paragraph of the aide mémoire left with them by Sir R. Parkes on February 18 have proved over-optimistic.

3. In the new circumstances, I should be grateful if instructions in paragraph 2 of Beith's letter to me of July 10 could be urgently reviewed since a communication on the lines set out there would no longer be likely to satisfy the Sudan Government.

Foreign Office pass Immediate to Entebbe and Dar-es-Salaam as my telegrams Nos. 43 and 7.

[Copy sent to Tel. Section C.O. for repetition to Entebbe and Dar-es-Salaam.]

DISTRIBUTED TO:

ADVANCE COPIES

N.E.A.D.

Private Secretary.

United Nations Department.

Sir F. Hoyer Millar.

Information Policy Department.

Sir R. Stevens.

Information Research Department.

Head of N.E.A.D.

News Department.

uuuuu

CONFIDENTIAL

Registry

No. VS 1821/54

~~Top Secret~~
~~Secret~~
Confidential
~~Restricted~~
~~XXX~~
Open

* Date and time (C.M.T.) telegram should reach addressee(s)

(Date)

Despatched ..

~~EMERGENCY~~
~~IMMEDIATE~~
PRIORITY
~~ROUTINE~~
with _____ priority
without _____
~~DEFERRED~~

Draft.

Telegram to:—

KHARTOUM

No. 859

(Date) 25/7

And to:—

[Security classification—
if any]

[Codeword—if any]

Address to KHARTOUM

telegram No. 859 (date) 25/7

repeated for information to Governor, Uganda (Personal)
Governor, Tanganyika (Personal).

Repeat to:—

Governor, Uganda.
(Personal)

Governor, Tanganyika
(Personal)

~~Enc. Encl.~~
~~Coda~~
Cypher

Distribution:—

Departmental.

NEAD

Copies to:—

F. D. Webber,
Colonial Office.

Your telegram No. 573 [of July 21:

Sudanese Refugees in Uganda].

The discussion of this new situation, being triangular, may take some time. Meanwhile, if you are pressed by the Sudanese I suggest that while sticking to the main lines plus para 4 of Uganda tel no. 30 to you, set out in Beith's letter, you should add ~~that unfortunately, it has proved impossible to keep a twenty four hour watch on all the men and that Deng was, therefore, able to slip away.~~

Arrangements for surveillance are being ~~further tightened up and~~ ^{IKAL} we are urgently considering what new measures can be taken.

Dist. Is.

N.E.A.D.

W
July 25

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

11 40 PM
25/7

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO KHARTOUM

Cypher/OTP
VS1821

DEPARTMENTAL
DISTRIBUTION

No.859

July 25, 1961

D. 12.50.p.m. July 25, 1961

PRIORITY

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Khartoum telegram No.859 of July 25.
Repeated for information to: Governor Uganda (Personal),
Governor Tanganyika (Personal)

Your telegram No.573 [of July 21: Sudanese Refugees in Uganda].

The discussion of this new situation, being trianguler, may take some time. Meanwhile, if you are pressed by the Sudanese I suggest that while sticking to the main lines set out in Beith's letter, plus paragraph 4 of Uganda telegram No.30 to you, you should add that we are urgently considering what new measures can be taken.

DISTRIBUTED TO:

N.E.A.D.

CONFIDENTIAL

✓

FROM KHARTOUM TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair

DEPARTMENTAL DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Brenchley

No. 609
August 8, 1961

D: 10.33 a.m. August 8, 1961
R: 11.48 a.m. August 8, 1961

PRIORITY

VS1821/34(A)

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 609 of August 8.
Repeated for information Saving to: Governor Uganda (Personal)
Governor Tanganyika (Personal)

VS 1821-34

My telegram No. 573.

Unless instructed otherwise, I propose to communicate to Sudan Government contents of paragraph 1 of Governor Uganda's telegram No. 193 personal to Secretary of State for Colonies.

Foreign Office please pass Saving personal to Governors Uganda and Tanganyika as my telegrams Nos. 15 and 10 respectively.

[Copy sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for repetition to Uganda and Tanganyika].

DISTRIBUTED TO:

N.E.A.D.
United Nations Department
Information Policy Department
Information Research Department
News Department

4444

V

North and East African Department

SUDAN

V

2. 35

FROM

SUBJECT:

No.

Dated

Received

References

MINUTES

A submission has been received
Please make sure that all the
from Khartoum who have of years are
given it over to the CO (Mr. Webster
& Mr. Webster)

Done
24/7

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

cf. C.O. 21/7

(Action
completed)

(Main Indexed)

2. 1/1/61.

24/62

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM KHARTOUM TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Brenchley

No. 572

July 21, 1961

21
1V 51821/35
D. 11.40 a.m. July 21, 1961

R. 11.52 a.m. July 21, 1961

PRIORITY

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Governor Tanganyika telegram No. 8
(Personal) of July 21:

Repeated for information to: Foreign Office.

Governor Uganda (Personal)

And Saving to Addis Ababa.

1V 51821/33
Governor Uganda's telegram No. 30 Personal to me.

Is Deng now in Tanganyika? If so, he must have entered illegally as his Sudanese passport has been invalidated. Would it be possible for him to be returned for that reason to Uganda?

Foreign Office please pass to Governors Tanganyika and Uganda as my telegrams Nos. 8 and 44 respectively.

[Copy sent to Telegram Section Colonial Office
for repetition to Tanganyika and Uganda]

DISTRIBUTED TO:

N.E.A.D.

United Nations Department

Information Policy Department

Information Research Department

News Department

RECEIVED

CONFIDENTIAL

1961

V

North and East African Department

SUDAN

VS 1921/36

FROM

Mr Breuchley,
Khartoum, to
Mr Smith.

SECRET

No.

1591

Dated

July, 17.

Received

July, 25.

SUBJECT:

Sudan Refugees. -

Talk with the P.U.S. at the Sudan

M.F.A.

SATURNWO should not be sent to
Tanganyika.

Comments on DAOD ABDEL LATIF's views.

References

29 31
17

MINUTES

Draft reply to Mr Breuchley. I have
held this up until the Last Privy
Seal's letter to Lord Perth has been
approved and despatched.

A. J. M. CRAIG
1/8

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

Mr Breuchley,
Khartoum, from
Mr Smith. 4/8

I have now received a copy of the
CO's letter to Uganda. It meets all
the Last Privy Seal's points and the tone is
satisfactorily strong. I have amended the
draft accordingly.

A. J. M. CRAIG
2/8

(Action
completed)

6/1/02

(Main Indexed)

21/11/02

CO. to Uganda, 273, July, 31.

W.S.

28/8

SECRET

enter

British Embassy,
KHARTOUM

July 17, 1961

25 JUL 1961

VS1821/17

*let me see
minutes
please
for*

My dear Sir,

Thank you for your letter VS 1821/29 of July 10 about the Sudanese refugees in Uganda. I take note of the instructions in paragraph 2 of the letter and will speak accordingly to the Sudan Government should they raise the subject. By a strange coincidence, I had to call on the Acting Permanent Under Secretary of the Sudanese Ministry for Foreign Affairs within a few minutes of reading your letter under reference and it turned out to be on the subject of William Deng (my telegram No. 41 of July 11 to Entebbe). Fortunately, however, Sayed Amin did not raise the general issue of the return of these refugees.

VS1821/31

2. With regard to paragraph 3 of your letter, I am not at all happy about the idea that Saturnino should be transferred to Tanganyika. We have given the Sudan Government to understand that all the refugees will be kept in Uganda if they are not returned to the Sudan. See, for instance, paragraph 6 of Entebbe's telegram No. 22 Saving of May 3 to the Colonial Office and the reply in my telegram No. 6 Saving of May 16 to Entebbe, repeated to you. In this connexion, I enclose a copy of the aide-memoire left by Sir Roderick Parkes with Sayed Mohammed Osman Yassein of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on February 18, of which I do not think you have had a copy before. The fourth paragraph of that aide-memoire, which was based on Entebbe's telegram No. 2070 to us of February 16, has certainly been taken by the Sudanese authorities as a promise that the refugees will not be allowed to go to any third country.

3. We were interested to see the copy of the record of Craig's talk with Daoud Abdel Latif. As Craig pointed out, Daoud has his own reasons for opposing the present Sudan Government. I think it is true that many people in the Sudan, including some in Government service, would be surprised if we returned these refugees to the Sudan but it is certainly going too far to say that the Sudan Government would in any sense be disappointed in us if we did so. I would put it this way, that of the Sudan Government Departments probably only the Ministry of the Interior feel strongly that we ought to return the refugees, while the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are much more apathetic on the subject, with the exception of Sayed Amin Ahmed Hussein, who, as an ex-policeman, is in full accord with the Ministry of the Interior's views.

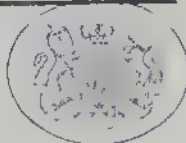
4. There is one other point arising from Craig's talk with Daoud Abdel Latif which I should like to mention. In paragraph 4 (b) of the record, Daoud is represented as

/ saying

J.G.S. Beith, Esq., C.M.G.,
North and East African Department,
FOREIGN OFFICE.

SECRET

S E C R E T



-2-

ys | saying that if the southern Sudanese lost their belief that the British were interested in their welfare and would always keep an eye on them, they would fall into the hands of the extremists and there would be chaos. It may be that such a belief does linger in the south Sudan, as it has among pro-British minorities in other countries which have become independent from British rule, e.g. the Karens in Burma. But it is a very dangerous belief for them to hold and it could certainly be argued that the sooner they are disabused of it, the better.

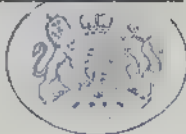
Yours ever,

Frank Brenchley

(T.F. Brenchley)

S E C R E T

C O P Y



In their Note No. MFA/35-D-9 of the 25th of January, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs requested the Embassy to contact the Uganda authorities with a view to the return to the Sudan of six Sudanese nationals listed in the Note. The Note pointed out that as the six men were not likely to stay long in Uganda they might proceed to more distant countries and stated that their return was a precautionary measure against bad publicity to the Sudan in African countries.

The Governor of Uganda has confirmed that these six Sudanese nationals are in Uganda and that they have applied for political asylum. As a temporary measure, the Uganda Government have issued permits to these men under the "Control of Alien Refugees Ordinance". They have been told that they would not under any circumstances be allowed to use Uganda as a base for any form of propaganda or other subversive activity directed against the Government of the Republic of the Sudan. They have also been told that they will not be allowed to leave Uganda without permission. The Uganda authorities are keeping a close watch upon their activities.

The Governor of Uganda has made it clear that if these men are returned to the Sudan, there is likely to be severe political criticism of this action in the Uganda legislature. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs will no doubt know that their presence in Uganda has already given rise to two Parliamentary questions in the House of Commons in London. Whatever the merits of the case, it is clear that the return of these refugees would give rise to much unavoidable publicity in Parliament and in the press, both in the United Kingdom and in Uganda, and that much of this publicity would be directed towards the Sudan Government's policy with relation to the Southern Provinces.

Her Majesty's Government wish to draw the attention of the Sudan Government to this factor in the situation before reaching a decision upon the request contained in the Ministry's Note referred to previously. The Governor of Uganda is confident that he can prevent the refugees leaving Uganda and that he can keep them under adequate surveillance while they are in the country. Should they make any attempt to break the terms of their permit, the Uganda Government would then have no hesitation in returning them to the Sudan in accordance with arrangements prescribed in their Control of Alien Refugees Ordinance.

The Embassy would therefore be grateful to know whether, in the light of the foregoing, the Ministry wish to press their request for the return of the six Sudanese nationals or whether, in the light of the Sudan Government's object of avoiding bad publicity to the Sudan in African countries, they would not prefer that the men should be kept in Uganda subject to the restrictions upon their movement and activities already described.

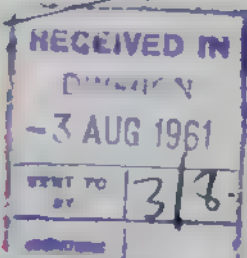
[Left by H.E. with P.U.S.
Ministry of Foreign
Affairs, February 18.]

10

VS 1821/36

Draft.

end.
Cpy of Co. Tel.
m. 273 to Uganda



Agencia

1/8

The attached copy of
Co. film & Uganda in
273 scenes to meet all the
C.P.S.'s prints. You may like
~~to comment while we wait~~
~~for the Government copy~~

(50378)

Than -

The first of these is the fact that the
 text of the manuscript is written in a
 cursive hand which is very different from
 the one used in the printed edition.
 The second is the fact that the text
 is written in a different language
 than the one used in the printed edition.
 The third is the fact that the text
 is written in a different style than the one
 used in the printed edition.

besides ~~him~~ ~~which the Governor~~
 been The Governor might be asked to call in
 the whole gang ~~then~~
~~the whole gang~~ ~~then~~

... and expressed

contd

π
himself,
 zhi
in

regard him as lost

particularly since
there is other
evidence of his
bad behaviour
from sources
which I cannot
quote in this
letter.

But, for your
info., we
doubt whether
Ministers
would as yet
alter the
decision not
to ~~repatriate~~
send him, & the others,
back.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Aug 3

(VS 1821/36)

August 4, 1961.

SECRET

Thank you for your letter of July 17 about the Sudanese refugees in Uganda. It has of course been overtaken to some extent by the deplorable news about Deng's escape from surveillance.

2. You will have seen from our telegram No. 859 that we were discussing with the Colonial Office what can be done about the new situation. The Lord Privy Seal wrote to Lord Perth, suggesting that besides tightening up the watch on the refugees, which has already been promised, the Governor might be asked to call in the whole gang and give them a stern warning that the first move to make publicity or to leave the country will result in their immediate return to the Sudan. He also asked whether it would be possible for the refugees to be required to report daily in future instead of weekly and expressed the hope that the Governor would agree that some at least of the detailed arrangements for surveillance could be communicated to the Sudanese, since specific information would presumably be more satisfactory than general assurances on the lines of those already found wanting. The attached copy of Colonial Office telegram to Uganda No. 273 seems to meet all the Lord Privy Seal's points.

3. As for Deng himself, the first task is to find him. I am not very hopeful that the Uganda authorities will succeed in doing this. If he really is in Ethiopia, as the Governor admits is possible, I fear we shall just have to regard him as lost and make what apologies we can to the Sudanese. If, on the other hand, he is found on British territory, we should have to consider whether he should be repatriated, particularly since there is other evidence of his bad behaviour from sources which I cannot quote in this letter. We have arranged that the Governor of Uganda should be told of this evidence. But, for your information, we doubt whether Ministers would as yet alter the decision not to send him, and the others, back.

4. I note your uneasiness about the proposal to transfer Saturnino to Tanganyika but do not altogether share it. The purpose of this move, if it comes off, would be precisely to put Saturnino in a place as far removed as possible from the Sudan where he could be watched and kept out of mischief. If we explained this to the Sudanese would they not understand our reasoning? Or is there something about Uganda which makes it in their view the most satisfactory place, apart from the Sudan itself, for these men to stay?

5. Finally, I entirely agree that we should disabuse the southern Sudanese of the idea that the United Kingdom has a special interest in them. But we have no idea how we should set about doing this (apart from sending back the refugees, which would, I imagine, very quickly do the trick). We shall of course take every opportunity in private conversation with the Sudanese of squashing this idea if it comes up. Indeed, Craig left Daud in no doubt that we could not entertain for a moment the possibility of lending support to the South against the legitimate Government.

(J.G.S. Beith)

T.F. Brenchley, Esq.,
KHARTOUM.

SECRET

CONFIDENTIAL

Enter A/a

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

TO UGANDA (Sir F. Crawford)

Cypher (O.T.P.)

Sent 31st July, 1961. 19.30 hrs.

3 AUG 1961
VS1821/36(A)

IMMEDIATE
CONFIDENTIAL AND PERSONAL
PERSONAL No. 273

Addressed to Governor, Uganda.
Repeated PRIORITY to O.A.G. Tanganyika,
Personal No. 365.

My telegram Personal No. 263.

Deng.

I am disturbed about several aspects of this matter. It is virtually certain that the Sudan Government will protest about breach of terms of permit and failure to keep him under surveillance. Subject to your urgent comments, I should like to suggest that we could definitely inform the Sudanese, if they protest, as follows. Every effort is being made to trace Deng; all the men have been given a final warning that any attempt to stir up publicity or to leave the country would result in their immediate return to Sudan; and that the watch on all of them has been tightened up. If you agree grateful if appropriate action could be taken and if, in addition, you would indicate in as much detail as possible how surveillance can be improved. For example, unless this has already been arranged, could men be required to report to police daily instead of weekly. I am sure that our best chance of cooling Sudanese feelings is to give as much detail as is appropriate about measures being taken.

2. I fully realise, of course, that if Deng is located outside Uganda it will not be easy to return him either to Uganda or Sudan. In this connection grateful to know if Governor, Tanganyika can suggest how this could be handled if he is in fact located in Tanganyika.

3. In view of political importance of this matter generally, I trust that you will be able to keep me fully and promptly informed of any further untoward events concerning these men. If any further political activities should take place and happen to become known to Sudanese before H.M. Government are even aware that anything untoward has happened they are not likely to place much confidence on our renewed assurances.

4. Grateful also if you would telegraph terms and conditions of permit; and in addition terms of final warning I trust you will now make in light of above.

/I suggest

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

I suggest that this should be in writing as well as orally and should warn against taking part in any political activities, attempting to leave the country without your permission and breaking any of the other terms of the permit.

Copies sent to:-

Foreign Office - Mr. Craig

(Cost of telegram: £24. 9s. 6d.)

CONFIDENTIAL

1961

V

North and East African Department

SUDAN

VS 1821/37

FROM C.O. to
Uganda. (comm)

SUBJECT:

Sudan Refugees -

Transmits the text of a P.Q. by

Mr P. Wall, M.P. for ... Aug. 1.

Re: for information.

No. 607. SECRET

Dated July, 28.

Received July, 31.

References

MINUTES

A) Uganda to C.O. (comm) 141 (SvP)
July, 31.

B) Colonial Office. - July, 31.
(copy of answer to Mr Wall's P.Q.)

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

Handed Extract
copied to Khartoum
4/8.

Amc
8/8

(Action
completed)

(Main Indexed)

July
21/8.

all
9/11/61

CONFIDENTIAL

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

31 JUL 1961

VS1821/37

TO UGANDA (Sir F. Crawford)

Code

EAF. 430/671/02

Sent 28th July, 1961. 16.15 hours.

IMMEDIATE
CONFIDENTIAL
No. 607

Parliamentary Question Sudanese Refugees.

Following question by Mr. Wall for oral
reply Tuesday, 1st August:-

"How many political refugees have
sought refuge in Uganda from the
Sudan since August 1955; how many
have been returned at the request
of the Sudanese Government; and for
what reasons their return has been
allowed".

Grateful for information on which to base reply, to
reach me by 9.0 a.m. G.M.T. Monday, 31st. Informa-
tion available here covers only recent arrivals.

Copy sent to:-

Foreign Office - Mr. A. J. M. Craig.

(Cost of telegram £3: 2: 8d)

CONFIDENTIAL

P/w

INWARD TELEGRAM
TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

S E C R E T

FROM UGANDA (Sir F. Crawford)

Cypher (O.T.P.)

D. 31st July, 1961.

R. 31st " " 09.25 hours.

EMERGENCY
SECRET AND PERSONAL
PERSONAL No.191

Parliamentary Question on Sudan Refugees.

Your telegram No.607.

Position is as set out in my telegram Personal No.48.

V 51821 /

Approximately 5,000 refugees entered Uganda from August to December 1955. Not all for political reasons, probably at least half because of economic difficulties. Further hundred probably entered (corrupt group ?1956). Vast majority absorbed in border areas. Only refugee compulsorily returned was Lachaka Lomiyang, accused of murder and attempted murder. My savingrams No.1024 of 18th November (corrupt group ?1957) and No.503 of 2nd June 1958 refer.

2. Apart from these, Captain Abdulla Mohamed Mustafa was granted asylum in September 1957. My savingram No.870 of 21st September 1957 to Khartoum, copied to you, refers.

3. You have details of ten refugees who have sought and been granted asylum since December 1960.

Copy sent to:-

Foreign Office - Mr. A. J. M. Craig

S E C R E T

phw
Comm'd to Mr Cairy by Mr Stapleton,
CO.

31 JUL 1961

VS1821/37(B)

31st July, 1961

AJSHFR

For Foreign Office concurrence

About 5,000 refugees entered Uganda from the Sudan in 1955, though not all of these were political refugees. Some came because of economic difficulties. About another 100 arrived in 1956. Only 1 ^{refugee} has been compulsorily returned to the Sudan. He was accused of murder and attempted murder. One political refugee arrived in September 1957, and a further 10 have crossed the border since December 1960. None of these has been returned to the Sudan.

NOTES FOR SUPPLEMENT TO I.S.

Resettlement

a) Most of the earlier refugees have been absorbed in the border areas of Buganda.

One refugee in 1957

b) He has taken civilian employment in Uganda

One refugee returned

c) This was Lechaka Lomiyang. The Sudan Government applied for his extradition for murder which was ordered by the Magistrate after examination of evidence produced.

23438a A Habeas Corpus action against the order before the
EAT
55/608 Uganda High Court failed.

Political refugees recently arrived

d. These men applied for political asylum which was granted. They have been given permits to reside in Uganda under the control of Alien Refugee Ordinance. They include one Roman Catholic priest who is an ex-Sudan M.P; ^{his} ~~four~~ other ex-M.P.s, two ex-administrative Officers of the Sudan Government and an Area Secretary ~~of~~ the South Sudan Liberal Party.

108

For the Secretary of State's information only

The men are all Roman Catholics and belong to tribes closely related to the tribes in Uganda's Northern Province. They claim that they have fled from religious persecution, and from political oppression ^{of the Southern Sudanese by the Islamic Government in the North.}

Extradition

e) There is no extradition agreement with the Sudan but it has been the practice to deal administratively and on a reciprocal basis with the repatriation between Uganda and the Sudan of persons against whom extradition proceedings would normally have been taken.

The Sudan Government has asked for the return of these men. Under the control of Alien Refugee Ordinance they cannot be returned unless there is assurance that they will neither be tried nor punished for political offences nor subjected to physical attack. The House was informed in a Reply to Major Wall on 7th February 1961 that the Sudan Government had asked for their return (For the Secretary of State's information only). In the interests of our relations with the Sudan it is desirable that this should not be stressed. Although it is not intended to return any of these men to the Sudan, no assurance to that effect should be given if it can be avoided.)

PQ1

William Deng.

f) For the Secretary of State's information only, one of the refugees, William Deng, has recently left Uganda without permission and published an article in a Nairobi newspaper. We do not at present know where he is. If asked about this the Secretary of State might say that he is aware that Mr. Deng has left Uganda and that he has asked for a report.

31st July, 1961

ANSWER

For Foreign Office concurrence

About 5,000 refugees entered Uganda from the Sudan in 1955, though not all of these were political refugees. Some came because of economic difficulties. About another 100 arrived in 1956. Only 1 refugee has been compulsorily returned to the Sudan. He was accused of murder and attempted murder. One political refugee arrived in September 1957, and a further 10 have crossed the border since December 1960. None of these has been returned to the Sudan.

NOTES FOR SUPPLEMENTARIES

Resettlement

- e) Most of the earlier refugees have been absorbed in the border areas of Buganda.

One refugee in 1957

- b) He has taken civilian employment in Uganda

One refugee returned

- c) This was Lechaka Lomiyang. The Sudan Government applied for his extradition for murder which was ordered by the Magistrate after examination of evidence produced.

23&38a A Habeas Corpus action against the order before the
5/5/68 Uganda High Court failed.

/Ten

Political refugees recently arrived

These men applied for political asylum which was granted. They have been given permits to reside in Uganda under the control of Alien Refugee Ordinance. They include one Roman Catholic priest who is an ex-Sudan M.P.; ^{four} other ex-M.P.s, two ex-administrative Officers of the Sudan Government and an Area Secretary of the South Sudan Liberal Party.

108

For the Secretary of State's information only

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The Sudan Government has asked for the return of these men. Under the Control of Alien Refugee Ordinance they cannot be returned unless there is assurance that they will neither be tried nor punished for political offences nor subjected to physical attack. The House was informed in a Reply to Major Wall on 7th February 1961 that the Sudan Government had asked for their return (For the Secretary of State's information only) and in the interests of our relations with the Sudan it is desirable that this should not be stressed. Although it is not intended to return any of these men to the Sudan, no assurance to that effect should be given if it can be avoided.)

PQ1

William Deng

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PARLIAMENTARY QUESTION

SUDAN

Refugees, Uganda

56. **Mr. Wall** asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies how many political refugees have sought refuge in Uganda from the Sudan since August, 1955; how many have been returned at the request of the Sudanese Government; and for what reasons their return has been allowed.

Mr. H. Fraser: About 5,000 refugees entered Uganda from the Sudan in 1955, though not all of these were political refugees. Some came because of economic difficulties. About another 100 arrived in 1956. Only one of these refugees has been compulsorily returned to the Sudan. He was accused of murder and attempted murder. One political refugee arrived in September, 1957, and a further ten have crossed the border since December, 1960. None of these has been returned to the Sudan.

1.8.61

V

North and East African Department

V-1821/38 ✓

1961

SUDAN

FROM Tanganyika
to C.O. (comm)

SECRET

No. 324.
Dated Aug 3.
Received Aug 4.

SUBJECT:

Sudan Refugee. -
If DENG should be found in
Tanganyika, he could be returned to
Uganda.
Question of informing the Cabinet.

References

MINUTES

Qme
15/8

A) Mr Brechley, Khartoum 24(S)-Aug 1.
(add. Dar-es-Salaam No 9)

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

B) Tanganyika to C.O. (comm) 321, July 31.

24/8

(Action
completed)

(Main Indexed)

16/8/61

9/11/62

Encl

INWARD TELEGRAM
SECRET
TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

R:
A:
-4 AUG 1961
VS1821/38

FROM TANGANYIKA (Governor's Deputy)

Cypher O.T.P.

D. 3rd August, 1961.

R. 3rd " " 09.40 hrs.

PRIORITY
SECRET AND PERSONAL
PERSONAL
NO.324

Your telegram personal No.365.

Following for Rolfe from Hooper.

Begins.

If Deng were found in Tanganyika it would be possible to declare him a prohibited immigrant on the ground that he had entered the territory without complying with the required immigration formalities. In that event it should be possible to arrange for his return at least to Uganda. Such action would however require the approval of the Cabinet.

2. I have discussed with Meek and we agree that the facts of the case could be put before Ministers without embarrassment, (but) that it is extremely difficult to predict what their reaction would be. If you see no objection to Ministers being made aware of the facts, either now or should Deng be located in Tanganyika, we suggest that you seek the Governor's agreement to despatch of a telegram in the non personal series giving the facts and requesting this Government's assistance in securing the return of Deng to Uganda.

3. As regards timing, the publication of Deng's letter with a Dar es Salaam date line provides a convenient reason for notifying this Government of the position, and the balance of advantage seems to lie in doing this now rather than later. Question of reference to the Cabinet would of course only arise if Deng were found here.

Ends.

Copies sent to:-

Foreign Office - Mr. Craig

SECRET

2000

VS 1821/38(A)

en - r - na

Dr. M. J. J. J.

R. L. Smith, 1911

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re-osal in inl

6. The following information is provided for the year ended 31/12/2014:

1. $\frac{1}{2}$ 2. $\frac{1}{2}$ 3. $\frac{1}{2}$ 4. $\frac{1}{2}$ 5. $\frac{1}{2}$ 6. $\frac{1}{2}$ 7. $\frac{1}{2}$ 8. $\frac{1}{2}$ 9. $\frac{1}{2}$ 10. $\frac{1}{2}$

[illegible]

215

It is a pleasure to have you here, and we are sure you will find the trip well worth the effort.

Number of items	Percentage of correct responses
10	10
20	20
30	30
40	40
50	50
60	60
70	70
80	80
90	85
100	90

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Please get the ref
from the Co
Dune
10/8

✓ Tin

CONFIDENTIAL

INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

FROM TANGANYIKA (Governor's Deputy)

Cypher (O.T.P.)

D. 31st July, 1961.

R. 31st " " 12.35 hrs.

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

PERSONAL No. 321

Addressed to S. of S.

Repeated to Governor of Uganda

Governor of Kenya

Ambassador, Khartoum,

(S. of S. please pass)

Personal No. 98.

My telegram Personal No. 309.

William Deng.

Still no trace of Deng in Tanganyika, but unconfirmed report received that he paid brief visit here before moving to Nairobi.

Principal Immigration Officer has received an enquiry concerning Deng's whereabouts from Santino Deng Teng who claims to be Minister for Animal Resources, Khartoum, and relative of Deng's. Enquiries continue.

(Copies sent to Foreign Office for repetition to Khartoum)

CONFIDENTIAL

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

Group . . . FO

Class . . . 371

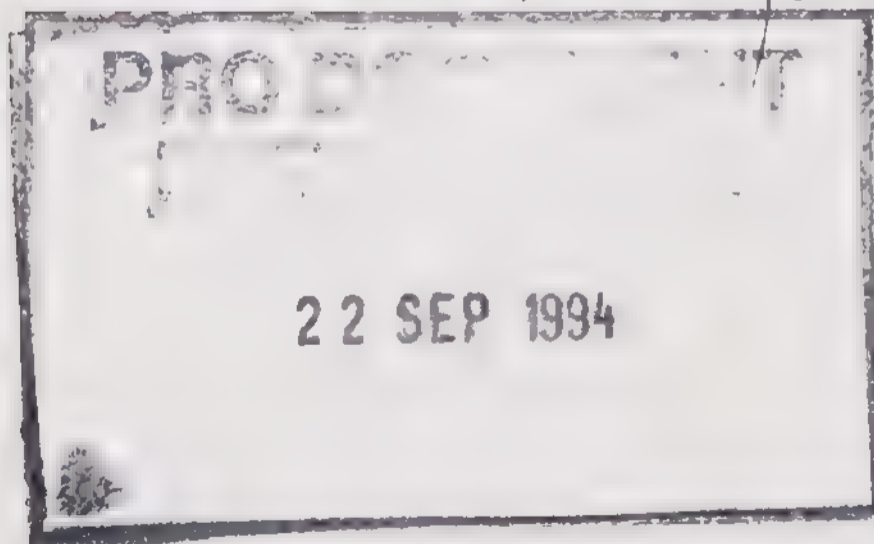
Piece . . . 159144

Following document(s) retained in the

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of the Public Records Act, 1958

VS 1821/39G



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1961
NORTH AND EAST AFRICAN
DEPARTMENT.

SUDAN

VS1821/39/G

FROM Foreign Office

Submission - Mr. Beith.

TOP SECRET

No.

Dated July 25th.

Received August 15th.

SUBJECT:

Sudanese Refugees in Uganda.

Further complications which have arisen; disappearance of WILLIAM DENG; strong reaction likely from the Sudanese.

References

VS 1821/29
VS 1821/31
VS 1821/32
VS 1821/33
VS 1821/34

MINUTES

June
15/8.

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

Dft) Lord Perth,
Colonial Office, from
the Lord Privy Seal.
July 27th.

(Action
Completed)

(Main Indexed)

[Signature]

25/8/62

Enter G

15 AUG 1961

SECRET

SUDANESE REFUGEES IN UGANDA

Flag A
VS 1821/29 It was agreed with the Colonial Office on June 27 (and instructions were sent accordingly on July 10 with the Lord Privy Seal's approval) that Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in Khartoum should not raise this matter with the Sudanese; but that if they raised it, he should say that we could not return the men but that they were now dispersed away from the Sudan frontier and would be kept out of mischief. We had already in February given the Sudanese assurances that the men would not be allowed to engage in propaganda or subversive activities or to leave Uganda.

Flag B

Flag C
VS 1821/31 2. After enquiries from H.M. Embassy in Khartoum, Uganda
Flag D
VS 1821/33 have now reported that one of the men, William Deng, disappeared about July 4, may have been in Dar-es-Salaam, and may now be in Ethiopia. We also learn that an inflammatory letter from him was published in a Nairobi newspaper on July 13.

Flag E
VS 1821/32

4. This is really very slack of the Uganda authorities and we may expect a strong reaction from the Sudanese (see Khartoum telegram No. 573). I have sent instructions to H.M. Chargé d'Affaires at Khartoum to hold the position if the Sudan Government press. Meanwhile I think we ought to urge the Uganda authorities to take whatever action they can to satisfy Sudanese indignation. I submit a draft letter from the Lord Privy Seal to Lord Perth.

Flag G

Sgd. John Beith
(J.G.S. Beith)
July 25, 1961.

Sgd. R.B. Stevens
25/7

SECRET

/This

This is a pretty tough letter to send another Minister. But the Colonial authorities certainly seem to have been very lax.

Sgd. F.R. Hoyer Millar
25.7

Lord Privy Seal

As amended i.e. softened!

E.H. 27/7

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Registry
No.

Top Secret.
Secret
Confidential
Restricted
Open

Draft. Letter.

To:

Lord Perth,
Colonial Office.

Deeratched by
From: Lord Privy Seal's Office
The Lord Privy Seal

Flag H
JS1062/16

I am afraid that the implication of the letter written over the recent question of the Sudanese refugees in Uganda which we have been having to handle.

You will have heard that one of the Sudanese refugees in Uganda, William Deng, has escaped surveillance and slipped over to Tanganyika. He has also written an inflammatory letter to a Nairobi newspaper about the situation in the Southern Sudan. This is ~~extremely~~ ^{frank enough,} disquieting.

who have been report that Deng is in Khartoum
2. The Sudanese now have two ~~very~~ legitimate complaints against us. On February 18, our Ambassador in Khartoum, in an attempt to persuade them not to press their request for repatriation, informed them, with the concurrence of the Colonial Office and the Governor of Uganda, that if the refugees attempted to break the terms of their permit, the Uganda authorities would have no hesitation in returning them to the Sudan. ~~As~~ ^{since} the men ~~had~~ ^{have} been solemnly warned (see Uganda telegram No. 8 Saving of February 6) that they would not be allowed to engage in any form of subversive activities or

propaganda against the Sudanese Government, *it is clear that one of them, Deng, has* ~~I think we can take it that they have~~

~~broken~~ ^{broken} the terms of ~~his~~ ^{his} permit and the Sudan may now urge ~~then~~ ^{even} more strongly that ~~they~~ ^{he} should be repatriated.

3. Secondly, the Ambassador told the Sudanese Government at the same time (again

/with

with the concurrence of the Governor - see his telegram No. 55 of February 17) that the men would not be allowed to leave Uganda for a third country. Here again we will be held to have broken our assurance.

Flag H
JS 7062/16

4. We have now to decide what we can say to the Sudanese when, as is virtually certain, they protest about these incidents. I should have thought that the very least we can afford to say is ^{for the sake of our effort in being made to trace Deng; secondly, that at the moment} ~~that one has been found, hauled over the coals and~~ given a final warning that henceforward the slightest attempt to stir up publicity or ^{to leave} ~~stir up~~ the country will result in ^{his} ~~his~~ immediate return to the Sudan; and ^{thirdly} ~~secondly~~ that the watch on all ^{of} ~~the~~ ~~men~~ has been tightened up. If you agree, I wonder whether you would be willing to ask the Governor (preferably by telegram) whether he would take action on these lines, and if so, what exactly ^{by way of improving surveillance?} can be done? Can it be arranged, for example, that the men have to report to the police daily instead of, as at present, weekly?

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

^{What there are men who are}
^{of course!} ~~Incidentally, I find it disturbing that~~ one of these men, whose political importance ^{is very concerned,} is well known to ~~us all~~ ^{could} disappear for fourteen days without our being told, ^{and} ~~and~~ that the first news of his ^{later} ~~article~~ in the Nairobi press should reach us a week ^{after its publication} ~~later~~

~~from Khartoum~~

^{Taken very much} ~~what you feel can best be done is~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{concerning} ~~the~~ ^{MS 29/17}

TOP SECRET

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.S.I.

July 27, 1961

I am afraid that further complications have arisen over the vexed question of the Sudanese refugees in Uganda which we have both been trying to settle.

You will have heard by now that one of the refugees in Uganda, William Leng, has escaped surveillance and slipped over to Tanganyika. He has also written an inflammatory letter to the Nairobi newspaper about the situation in the Southern Sudan. This is troublesome enough.

The Sudanese who have had a report that Leng is in Ethiopia now have two legitimate complaints. On February 18 our Ambassador in Khartoum, in an attempt to persuade them not to press their request for repatriation, informed them, with the concurrence of the Colonial Office and the Governor of Uganda, that if the refugees attempted to break the terms of their permit the Ugandan authorities would have no hesitation in returning them to the Sudan. 's the men were

The Right Honourable
The Earl of Perth, P.C.,
Colonial Office,
S.S.I.

/solemnly

TOP SECRET

TOP SECRET

- 2 -

solemnly warned (see Uganda telegram No. 8 of February 6) that they would not be allowed to engage in any form of subversive activities or propaganda against the Sudanese Government, it is clear that Deng has broken the terms of his permit and the Sudan may now urge even more strongly that he should be repatriated.

Secondly, the Ambassador told the Sudanese Government at the same time (again with the concurrence of the Governor - see his telegram No. 22 of February 17) that the men would not be allowed to leave Uganda for a third country. Here again we will be held to have broken our assurance.

We have now to decide what we can say to the Sudanese when, as is virtually certain, they protest about these incidents. I should have to say that the very least we can afford to say is, first, that every effort is being made to trace Deng; secondly, that all the men have been given a final warning that henceforward the slightest attempt to stir up publicity or to leave the country will result in their immediate return to the Sudan; and thirdly that the watch on all of them has been tightened up. If you agree, I wonder whether you would be willing to ask the Governor (preferably by telegram) whether he would take action on these lines, and if so, what exactly can be done by way of improving surveillance? Can it be arranged, for example, that the men have to report to the police daily instead of, as at present, weekly?

/I think.....

TOP SECRET

I think that if we are to calm down the AC men, we may have to give them some detailed information about the measures being taken and the military authorities are willing to release.

There are one or two other aspects of all this which I am sure you will agree are rather important. First, that one of these men, whose political views are well known to everyone concerned, could be taken for fourteen days without our being told.

Secondly, the first news of his arrest should reach Nairobi press should reach us a week after its publication and then from Khartoum.

I shall be very grateful to hear what you feel can best be done in all these circumstances.

Edward Heath

1961

V

North and East African Department

VS 1821/40

SUDAN

FROM Uganda to
the C.O. (command)

SUBJECT: Sudan Refugees -
DENG is in Addis Ababa.
Gives four alternative courses of
action concerning the other refugees.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 193
Dated Aug. 3
Received Aug. 10

References

MINUTES

See submission and Fil.^m at -/41
Agree
17/8

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action completed)

(Main Indexed)

[Signature]
10/8/61

[Signature]
9/11/62

CONFIDENTIAL

INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

\$ # enter

RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES
10 AUG 1961
VS1821/60

FROM UGANDA (Sir F. Crawford)

Cypher O.T.P.

D. 3rd August, 1961.

R. 4th " " 06.00 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

PERSONAL NO.193

Addressed to S. of S.

Repeated to Ambassador Khartoum (S. of S. please pass)

" " Governor Tanganyika Personal No.33

VS1821/36(A)

Your telegrams Personal Nos.273 and 261.

Sudanese Refugees.

I am extremely sorry that Deng evaded us.
Information now available confirms that he is in Addis Ababa.
He has written from there to some Sudanese refugees here.

2. With reference to your telegram Personal No.261 which repeats to me Khartoum's No.42, the position here has changed markedly since the formation of our new government whose unofficial members are not yet aware of the situation. If they were I would not expect them to have any sympathy with the Sudanese Government's view on this matter.

3. As I see it there are four possible courses of action. The first would be to return the remaining refugees to Sudan in the face of certain opposition of the present Government and of most other influential bodies of opinion in Uganda including Christian missions. To do so would provoke a major political crisis at a particularly inauspicious moment just before constitutional conference in London. In any case as Khartoum has admitted (paragraphs 3 - 5 of your telegram No.13 (sic) which repeated Khartoum's No.79) no guarantees given by the Sudan can ensure (repeat ensure) that refugees might not be victims of trumped-up charges on their return or subjected to restrictions which might be held to amount to political victimisation. If we ordered their return they might institute habeas corpus proceedings in the High Court. If they were successful this would leave our position even worse than it is at present. In these circumstances I am convinced that return of refugees to the Sudan is now no longer practical politics. In any case as I explained to Minister of State the expulsion of these refugees from Uganda seems to involve wider issues of principle and H.M. Government's general attitude towards political refugees.

/4. The

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4. The second alternative is to place them in an internment camp or under other confinement. This would have almost equally serious political repercussions and would involve us in expense which the Legislature would not be prepared to approve, and which in the circumstances I should be reluctant to certify.

5. The third alternative is to continue to deal with them more or less as at present. I appreciate that this offers no positive guarantee that some of them may not slip away as Deng has done but with two exceptions also (? all intended) remaining refugees have taken up lucrative employment in Uganda, and I consider this danger though real should not be exaggerated. By adopting this course we should be able to avoid local political repercussions. We have of course so far been completely successful in preventing refugees from publicising their case while they were actually in Uganda.

6. In any case I am now arranging to require refugees to report daily to a responsible Government officer or to a responsible employer, and for immediate notification of police if any refugee does not make his daily report. As many of them are in employment some distance from a police post - and it is to our interests that they should remain in employment - it would not be practicable to require them to report in person daily to the police.

7. The fourth solution would be to remove all refugees from the Protectorate. We should (group omitted ? welcome) this not merely because it would relieve us of an embarrassing and difficult problem but more important because at least 2,500 Sudanese have either sought refuge and settled in Uganda since 1955 or have come to find employment here all of whom are likely to support the aims of refugees and could not be kept under effective surveillance. Understandably however neither Kenya nor Tanganyika have shown any inclination to provide a home for refugees.

8. In addition to more stringent controls referred to in paragraph 6 above also (? all intended) refugees have been warned on several occasions that they must not (repeat not) take part in any political activity or publicise their case in Uganda. I am arranging for this warning to be given to them again in writing. They have also been warned that they must not leave the country and of possible consequences of breaking terms of their permits. Full details of present whereabouts and activities of each refugee together with terms of their permits and of warnings in writing follow by bag. I am now also arranging to concentrate all families who are not living with refugees themselves in one camp in Bunyoro District, Western Province.

9. If it is not possible to arrange transfer of refugees to another territory, I consider there is no acceptable alternative to our continuing to deal with refugees as proposed in paragraphs 5, 6 and 8

/above

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above despite embarrassment vis a vis the Sudan. which this may regrettably involve from time to time.

10. Although I have written to the Apostolic delegate suggesting a meeting (as agreed at discussion in the Colonial Office with Foreign Office officials on 27th June) to discuss the problem of refugees (? with omitted) Father Saturnino I have not yet had a reply.

(Copies sent to Foreign Office for
repetition to Khartoum)

Copies sent to:-

Foreign Office

- Mr. Craig

CONFIDENTIAL

